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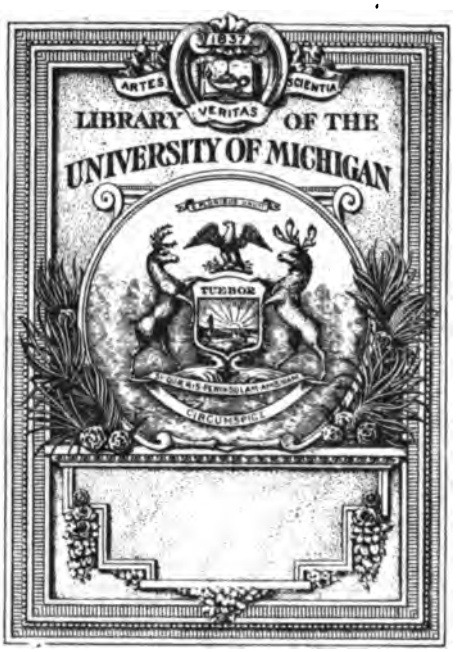

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65TH CONGRESS : : 3D SESSION

DECEMBER 2, 1918-MARCH 4, 1919

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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session } SENATE { DOCUMENT No. 451

ROBERT F. BROUSSARD

(Late a Senator from Louisiana)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
January 26, 1919

Proceedings in the House
January 26, 1919

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1919

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HON. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD

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DEATH [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Chaplain, Rev. [illegible] the following prayer.

Almighty God, [illegible] very close together in [illegible] we meet with [illegible] ored Mon[illegible] thank Th[illegible] Bless Th[illegible] year [illegible] him [illegible] rest [illegible] life [illegible]

A[illegible] est [illegible] world [illegible] Christ's side [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] [illegible] painful [illegible]

[illegible] Sona- [illegible] Sona- [illegible] monish [illegible] may [illegible] de[illegible]

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DEATH OF HON. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

SATURDAY, *April 13, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the comradeship of service brings us very close together in this tragic life of ours. To-day as we meet with the notice of the passing of one of the honored Members of the Senate our hearts are saddened. We thank Thee for his life and for his public service. We bless Thee that he has lived among us, bearing in all the years the white flower of a stainless life. Thou hast called him to the reward of the great beyond. Let Thy blessing rest upon us as we cherish his memory and help us to emulate all his virtues.

And now, O God, as we have come this day to the greatest crisis in our Nation's history, and in the history of the world, we pray Thee to make bare Thine arm to save. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, it is with profound sorrow that I announce to the Senate the death of my late colleague, Senator BROUSSARD, who died at his home in New Iberia, La., at 8.30 last night, after a long and very painful illness.

I shall not attempt to say anything about the late Senator at this moment, but at a later time I shall ask the Senate to set aside some hour at which fitting testimonials may be paid to the memory and public services of my deceased colleague.

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Mr. President, I send to the desk the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The resolutions (S. Res. 224) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That a committee of eight Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. BROUSSARD, to be held in the city of New Iberia, La.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The Vice President appointed under the second resolution, as the committee on the part of the Senate, Mr. Ransdell, Mr. Vardaman, Mr. Kirby, Mr. King, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Sutherland, Mr. Myers, and Mr. Shafroth.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *April 15, 1918.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the death of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

WEDNESDAY, *December 11, 1918.*

Mr. GAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate shall convene on Sunday, January 26, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of the late Senator from Louisiana, Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD.

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The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? There is none, and it is so ordered.

SUNDAY, *January 26, 1919.*

Mr. GAY. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions, which I ask the Secretary to read, and I move their adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 422) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate expresses its profound sorrow in the death of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Ransdell, of Louisiana

Mr. President: We are assembled to-day to pay respect to the memory of our late colleague and friend, Senator Broussard, who died on the banks of the beautiful Bayou Teche he loved so well April 12, 1918.

Robert F. Broussard was born on the Marie Louise plantation near New Iberia, La., August 17, 1864, and spent his boyhood in the cypress swamps and on the broad prairies that abound in that section. The country was a veritable paradise of game and fish, and young Broussard was very fond of hunting and fishing. His forbears were among the French colonists of Acadia who were expelled from their Canadian homes by the harsh decree of the British ministry following the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and their tragic fate has been immortalized by Longfellow in "Evangeline," wherein he tells how a part of these dispersed people, after many wanderings and sufferings, found a new home in southwest Louisiana. Here they preserved intact for many generations their French language, traditions, and customs, and it was in this atmosphere that Robert F. Broussard was reared. French was the universal tongue, and he grew to early maturity without having learned to speak any other language.

He attended the public and private schools of his State, but his father, cherishing the hope that his son would adopt the medical profession for a career, sent him to Georgetown University, in the Nation's Capital, where he spent three years. Here a new world opened to him. He

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was a good student and rapidly acquired mastery of English and a sound educational foundation. His youthful imagination was fired by the stirring events that were transpiring at that time, and he determined, against strong paternal opposition, to make law his profession and a public life his career.

His first public office after his return home was that of inspector of customs for the port of New Orleans, from which position he was promoted to assistant weigher and subsequently to expert statistician. He found time while attending to his duties for the Government to enter the College of Law of Tulane University in New Orleans, from which he graduated in 1889. He then removed to his boyhood home at New Iberia, where he formed a law partnership with Judge T. Donelson Foster, brother of United States Senator Murphy J. Foster, under the name of Foster & Broussard, a firm which continued for nearly two decades, and was one of the strongest in southern Louisiana. Had ROBERT BROUSSARD preferred a professional to a political career, high honors in that field and large emoluments undoubtedly would have been his reward.

Mr. BROUSSARD always took an active interest in public affairs and sought to serve his fellow man. He was a natural politician, and his talents as a political organizer and adviser were in constant demand by his party. He served for 25 years as a member of the Democratic State central committee.

When the antilottery question became acute in Louisiana in 1890, and the Democratic Party divided into distinct wings on the issue, ROBERT BROUSSARD took his first independent stand against the State organization. He created for himself a State-wide reputation as a campaigner and stump speaker. The young attorney from New Iberia, hitherto unknown beyond the borders of his

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district, emerged from the antilottery contest one of the most persuasive orators and astute political leaders in the State. The logical result of this fight was his nomination and election by the antilottery wing to the position of district attorney for the nineteenth judicial district of the State in the campaign of 1892. His record in office, his undoubted strength, and the two-term tradition united in 1894 to obtain for him a unanimous reelection.

Two years later he entered the race for Congress in the old third district. He had a strong opponent, who had the support of the State organization, but BROUSSARD received the nomination. He entered upon his duties in the House of Representatives in the Fifty-fifth Congress March 4, 1897, and served in that body for 18 years, being reelected to eight successive Congresses without opposition, except to the Sixty-second, which came after his election to the Senate. This demonstrates his remarkable personal popularity, and is a record of which the fewest Members of Congress can boast.

When the young Acadian entered Congress conditions in his district were such as to demand his very best study and attention. While the good men in Louisiana had divided on the lottery issue and aligned themselves under the respective banners of Foster and McEnery, another struggle had been going on in Washington which involved the very economic existence of the people of the third congressional district. The cultivation of sugar cane, which since the early thirties of the last century had been the principal vocation of these people, was again suffering from a fierce storm growing out of tariff revision. The McKinley tariff bill, enacted in September, 1890, had so far departed from American practice as to place sugar on the free list and give a bounty of 2 cents per pound to the American-grown product in order to stimulate domestic production.

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No State in the Union was affected by this revolutionary fiscal procedure so much as Louisiana and property values in the sugar district were shaken to the foundation. A situation developed that called for the exercise of all the legal ability and acumen of the young leader from Iberia, who gave Congressman Andrew Price his hearty support when that gentleman announced his intention to vote against the McKinley bill, notwithstanding its bounty of 2 cents per pound to the Louisiana sugar planters. The bounty yielded a golden harvest while it continued, but it lasted only long enough to reach the Supreme Court, which promptly declared it unconstitutional, with resultant financial chaos in the sugar sections of Louisiana. That condition was very slightly improved when the Democrats returned to power by the enactment of the Wilson bill in February, 1894. So heavy a burden was that measure supposed to place upon the Louisiana industry that such stanch Democrats as Meyer, Davey, Price, Boatner, and Robertson all recorded their votes against it in the House.

Before the Louisiana sugar district, which had thus become the football of tariff legislation, was compelled to undergo the rigors of another revision ill health had laid a heavy hand upon Congressman Price, who had done such yeoman service to preserve the industry. He was compelled to lay down the legislative burden; and, as the very existence of his people was at stake, it was agreed that the gravity of the situation demanded the very best talent the district could afford.

Those were the days of the old-time conventions, and in one of the most spirited and closely contested political fights in the history of the State "BOB" BROUSSARD was selected by a majority of one-half vote to continue the battle so long and brilliantly conducted by the lamented Andrew Price. On entering Congress he proclaimed him-

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self a Democrat of the school of Samuel J. Randall, who was thrice honored by his party with the office of Speaker, notwithstanding that he was a stout advocate of protection. In taking this stand Congressman BROUSSARD had the example and counsel of Senator Samuel D. McEnery, affectionately known as the war horse of Louisiana Democracy, who voted for the Dingley tariff in 1897. And throughout his entire career in the House, and later in the Senate, "BOB" BROUSSARD devoted every energy of his being to watching, safeguarding, and upbuilding the sugar industry of Louisiana and the Nation. By close scrutiny and research he mastered the intricate problems of the vexatious sugar question and became an expert on the subject and a tower of strength during the precarious menacing periods when blows and assaults were directed against that great industry.

Upon an occasion in the Senate similar to this Senator BROUSSARD paid his final tribute to the memory of the late Senator McEnery. Between these two there had always existed a warm and devoted personal friendship, perhaps all the more tender because of the disparity in their ages. Senator BROUSSARD felt that in the counsel and experience of his old friend his own footsteps would be safely guided along the tortuous and uncertain paths of tariff legislation, and as the fierce storm of factional opposition broke about the heads of both these true sons of Louisiana, because each sought the same solution for this great economic problem, we may assume that Senator BROUSSARD was only expressing what he might hope would be said of his own course when, in eulogizing his departed friend, he said:

I well recall the conference held by the Louisiana delegation in Senator McEnery's office to determine the course to be pursued by the delegation with respect to the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. The delegation favored it in some particulars and opposed it in others. Senator McEnery at once laid down the rule which he said should be our guidance: Will this bill as a whole benefit or

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injure Louisiana? He argued pointedly that what benefited the people of Louisiana was paramount. One section, he said, can not be made to suffer unless the entire State suffered likewise. By these rules his conduct as a Senator was always guided, and, occupying that position, he has never been held not to have performed the duties incumbent upon him in a patriotic manner, nor was he ever looked upon with suspicion by his Democratic colleagues in the performance of his duties as he conceived them to be.

Senator BROUSSARD held that under our Constitution, so far as the tariff is concerned, our citizenship might be divided into two broad classes—those who advocate protection and those who advocate a tariff for revenue. The difference between the tariff-for-revenue man and the protectionist, he held, was expressed in percentage; "and if this be true," he asked, "who is to judge when the tariff on a given article is a revenue tariff and when is it a protective tariff?" He answered this query with the statement that "the people of each district must decide for themselves, and the Representative of that district should voice the decision of his constituency; the people of each State should decide for themselves, and the Senator should voice the opinion of his State. This was Senator McEnery's rule and guidance, and his people approved it by reelecting him again and again without opposition." When we think of Senator BROUSSARD's own career can we have any doubt that in the thought he has here expressed is to be found the pole star by which his own course was guided?

It will be chiefly because of his unending struggle for the preservation of the cane-sugar industry of Louisiana that his memory will be preserved at the National Capital. Born in the heart of the sugar district and intimately associated with the industry, until death placed its withering hand upon him he was one of its leading champions. No cause ever had a more devoted advocate, nor could it

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wish for one more able. He knew all the intricacies of the involved sugar question, and his colleagues generally accepted his presentation as correct.

In January, 1912, Mr. BROUSSARD was nominated for the United States Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1915. His constituents, knowing that the seat in the Senate would not be vacant for two years, renominated him for the ninth term in the House of Representatives in November, 1912. This is the only instance in American political history, as far as I can learn, where a man was elected to and served for two years in the House of Representatives after having been elected to the Senate.

Senator BROUSSARD was peculiarly well qualified to represent his State in the Senate. He was a man of great intellect, a trained legislator, a profound lawyer, and an able and skillful debater. In the United States Senate, as well as in the House of Representatives, he was recognized as a fearless champion of every interest of Louisiana.

On January 12, 1898, Mr. BROUSSARD married Miss Marrette Applegate, of New Orleans, a lovely and accomplished woman, who survives him. They had no children.

He was extremely fond of flowers, plants, and trees. He paid frequent visits to the Botanic Garden in this city, claiming that it rested his mind and body to look at and study "plants that God put on this earth for our benefit as well as our pleasure." On one occasion, while admiring some orchids, in company with his particular friend, George W. Hess, superintendent of the United States Botanic Garden, he placed his hands upon one of them and fondled it, saying, "To my mind there is nothing more beautiful in this world than a baby and a flower." He said of trees, "To love trees intelligently we must know them; we must be able to call them by name whenever and wherever we meet them; this is fundamental to any friendship."

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Senator BROUSSARD indorsed heartily the sentiment expressed in Joyce Kilmer's exquisite poem on trees:

I think that I shall never see
A poem lovely as a tree.
A tree whose hungry mouth is prest
Against the earth's sweet flowing breast;
A tree that looks at God all day
And lifts her leafy arms to pray;
A tree that may in summer wear
A nest of robins in her hair;
Upon whose bosom snow has lain,
Who intimately lives with rain.
Poems are made by fools like me,
But only God can make a tree.

Senator BROUSSARD, better known as "BOB" BROUSSARD and "Couzan Bob," had multitudes of friends. He had a charming personality, and affection for him was widespread and deep. To few men is it given to possess the happy faculty of making friends and holding them as did "BOB" BROUSSARD. He was a magnetic orator both in French and English. I once heard him deliver a political speech in English for 30 minutes to an audience composed mainly of French-speaking people, and then, without pausing, he changed to French, amid the wild enthusiasm of his hearers. I did not understand the French portion of his address, but my attention was held by his graceful versatility and charm of manner.

Although in failing health for two years prior to his untimely death, Senator BROUSSARD was cheerful and hopeful to the end, carrying sunshine and good cheer wherever he went. He loved life and enjoyed it to the fullest.

Louisianians were proud of Senator BROUSSARD, loved him in life, and now revere his memory. His work is done; he is at rest; peace to his ashes.

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There is no death! The stars go down
  To rise upon some fairer shore,
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
  They shine forevermore.

There is no death! The leaves may fall,
  The flowers may fade and pass away,
They only wait through wintry hours
  The coming of the May.

There is no death! An angel form
  Walks o'er the earth with silent tread;
He bears our best-beloved things away,
  And then—we call them dead.

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Address of Mr. Chamberlain, of Oregon

Mr. President: My intimate acquaintance with the late Senator Broussard began when I was elected to the Senate in 1909. I knew of him, however, through the fact of his copartnership with a very distinguished and very much-loved classmate of mine at Washington and Lee University. So, without having known Senator Broussard intimately, I knew from the reports that had come to me from his old friends and associates that, like the people of Louisiana, those of us who were to come into intimate contact and touch with him would love him. It did not take long to get acquainted with him, I found, and almost intuitively one was tempted to speak of him as he was lovingly spoken of amongst his friends in Louisiana, as "Couzan Bob," or simply as "Bob," because he at once removed the barrier that might ordinarily be raised between men who meet merely as strangers.

I served on a number of committees with him here in the Senate, and, as has been so ably said by his distinguished colleague [Mr. Ransdell], whatever duty he turned his attention to he gave it that zealous application and consideration which every intelligent legislator tries to give as the most important part of his legislative duty. He attended committee meetings promptly and gave to the work before the committees, and particularly to that portion of the work that affected his own State, the utmost zeal, application, and effort.

He was a typical Southern gentleman, Mr. President, and wore his heart upon his sleeve. I do not know any one of my acquaintances who so represented as did Senator Broussard that affable, courteous, chivalrous disposi-

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tion which is so characteristic of the old Southern gentleman.

We shall all miss him here, Mr. President, as I know that his constituents and friends in Louisiana will miss him, and it will be a long time before his place can be filled here, either as a faithful public servant or in the hearts of his colleagues.

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Address of Mr. Shafroth, of Colorado

Mr. President: Before coming over to the Senate Chamber this morning I picked up a Congressional Directory of January, 1916. I looked over the list of Senators who had departed from this earth since that time and I found that 15 Senators while serving in the Senate had died. A Senator not long ago told me that in the eight years of his service here he had counted the passing from this life of 53 Senators who had served with him some portion of the time in that period. So we may truly say that "While in life we are in the midst of death."

Mr. President, I was a Member of the House of Representatives when Mr. Broussard began his service in that body. He was elected in the memorable campaign of 1896. That campaign was, perhaps, the most remarkable ever waged in the United States. It was because of the fact that there had been such differences of opinion concerning economic questions that parties were almost wiped out of existence. In some States the result was favorable to one political party by enormous majorities and in other States to the opposite political party.

In my own State of Colorado, which had been a Republican State up to that time, 85 per cent of the Republicans of the State voted the Democratic ticket, giving Mr. Bryan a majoriy of 134,000, while upon the other hand New Jersey, that had been a Democratic State for many years, as was the case in some other States in other parts of the Republic, returned to Congress a solid Republican delegation. People had differed very materially upon the money question, and there were grounds for such differences of opinion.

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That was a campaign where all meetings were largely attended. There had been a depression in prices existing over the world for many years. It so happened that, according to statistical tables, falling prices had begun about the year that Germany demonetized silver, and from that time until 1896 there had been a continual fall in the level of prices. That was attributed by many, and especially by the Democratic Party, as announced in its platform of 1896, to be due to the fact that the burdens of commerce and credit which previously had been borne by both silver and gold had been shifted to gold alone, thereby increasing the demand for and value of gold, which in turn increased its purchasing power and thus produced falling prices.

Mr. President, I have no doubt that theory was correct. I am a firm believer and have always been a believer in the quantitative theory of money. While we may deplore the high prices which now exist in the United States, their effect in the production of misery and distress is inconsequential if compared with those which would be produced by falling prices.

It was in 1896 that the low level of prices was reached in the United States. It was then that cotton sold for 6 cents a pound; it was then that corn sold for 10 cents a bushel, and in some portions of the Western States it was burned instead of being consumed as food, it being so cheap that it was thought to be more valuable for fuel than for food. It was then, Mr. President, that conditions developed which culminated in the great change in the Democratic Party.

Mr. Cleveland had espoused the gold standard. There had resulted such a profound change in the Democratic Party that he, although the President of the United States, and made so by Democratic votes, would not support the candidate nominated in Chicago and the principles

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announced in the platform of that party. It was through his influence that a new ticket was placed in the field, called the Palmer and Buckner ticket. That ticket gained very little support in the Western States; it gained some support in the Eastern States; but the man who made up his mind to vote in that campaign wanted his vote to count, and, consequently, he voted either the Democratic or the Republican ticket.

Mr. President, there have been many theories as to what produced the upward tendency in prices after that time, but no one has ever answered the arguments for bimetalism. It is the theory of many of us that that upward tendency was caused by the increased production of gold. My State, a silver-producing State, came to be a gold-producing State; a great quantity of gold was discovered in the Cripple Creek district, and its product of $300,000,000 of that metal is one of the evidences of the increased gold supply.

Mr. President, it was at this time that Mr. BROUSSARD entered public life. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the Democratic Party and its principles enunciated in the platform in 1896. I remember very well when he first came to the House of Representatives. He was a very young man, being only 33 years of age. He was active, quick, and vigilant, keen of mind, and was considered one of the very young and promising Members of the House of Representatives. Of course, he was always loyal to the interests of his State.

He lived in one of the richest portions of the United States. I do not believe there are any lands in the world that are superior to the lands down on the Gulf coast, and it is easy to understand that he felt in recent years that the great sugar interests of Louisiana would be benefited by a duty upon sugar. During the last six years he devoted a great deal of time and attention to preserving that which

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he thought was absolutely essential to the life and to the growth of the great industry in his State.

Mr. President, my acquaintance with Mr. BROUSSARD ripened into warm friendship as the years passed by. I served in the House of Representatives with him for eight years, and when he came to the Senate I knew him intimately and well. He was a man of the highest honor, one who always could be relied upon, without any suspicion of corruption or improper motive in the vote that he cast. He has left a great name in the State of Louisiana, where he was recognized as one of its great leaders. The friends he made were legion. I feel that in his death the Senate has lost a very distinguished Senator and the Members of the Senate a very lovable companion.

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Address of Mr. Townsend, of Michigan

Mr. President: I deeply regret the necessity for this memorial occasion. It is always discomforting for me to contemplate death under any circumstances, and especially that of a friend. It is a solemn mystery, and yet no more mysterious than is life. We are forced to speculate on those two phenomena, and out of the speculation are born theories of religion and hopes of immortality. We call life real; and when we see it suddenly terminate we wonder about the great change and philosophize about the unknowable. From the time of the death of the first man until this hour men and women have stood mute and helpless in the presence of mortality. All hatred, jealousy, and personal animosity are subdued beside the bier; but, except for philosophy, the mourners can not be comforted.

The news of a friend's death comes with a shock. It notifies us of the end of all human association and of all opportunity to do for that friend the things that we would now like to do. It, however, has one benign result—it causes us to pause and indulge in thoughts of life and duty.

I know that these memorial occasions in memory of our one-time colleagues are of no value to the departed. They have passed beyond the realm of censure or praise. Their bereaved families may be comforted by kind words of Senators, but the greatest good comes to those few who participate. It is not well that death should bring a permanent sadness to the friends of the deceased, but it

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is of the highest importance that men and women should pause in the struggle of selfish, sensual life, with all of its unrealities, to consider seriously the end of it all. We know in our thoughtful, peaceful moments that the only things worth while in life here are the hopes that we are doing something worth while in the world and the respect and friendship of our colleagues. The former may always be shrouded in doubt, but we can feel and know the latter. How miserable we all would be if it were not for our real friends, and yet how often do we sorely test them.

ROBERT—lovingly his friends called him "BOB"—BROUSSARD possessed in a marked degree the true qualities of friendship, and I am thankful that he numbered me among his friends, as I did him among mine. He was a Member of the House of Representatives when I entered that body, and I soon thereafter became acquainted with him. He was a quiet, unobtrusive man, but possessed of the genius of industry in behalf of his constituents, and few Members accomplished more for his people. He knew the needs of his district and State and never neglected them.

I knew little of his domestic relations, as social intercourse in our public life is circumscribed by accidental circles of limited circumference. I knew nothing about his life prior to my coming to Congress and I have not taken the pains to look up his biography. I simply knew him as the man in Congress, and that knowledge warrants me in saying that he was above the average of his colleagues in effective accomplishments. He believed, as did many of his Louisiana colleagues, that the tariff was a local issue. He knew that a protective tariff was necessary to the maintenance of his State, and he had the courage of his convictions. He was never a trimmer, but bold and outspoken in his advocacy of his convictions. He was friendly always. His political word was as good as his

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bond. His State and the Congress have lost in his death a most valuable legislator.

We can not understand the Providence which called him from great usefulness in the midst of his first term in the Senate, but we know that a good and wise legislator has gone out from among us. I sincerely regret his untimely death.

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Address of Mr. Kirby, of Arkansas

Mr. President: I feel that I should speak a few words on this occasion in memory of Robert F. Broussard, native son of Louisiana, who is departed. He long and faithfully represented in the council halls of the Nation that great State. But I am not come to talk of his achievements in forum and in court that brought him, the leader and servant of his people, from his far-off home to the council halls of the Nation. I am not come to talk of his achievements while he stood in the Congress halls and represented his own people and the people of these United States. That can better be done, and has been well done, by his colleague and by his successor. I am not going to specify the different things of benefit that he was able to accomplish here. It is not fitting that I should do so. It will suffice to say that he was a man of true nobility of soul, of fine intellect, character, and ability, a man of strong and true convictions, innate convictions of right, a man who believed above all in his country. He loved his far-off home in the Southland. He loved the State of his birth. He loved the Nation that he served so well. His patriotism was as broad as the confines of the Nation and as lofty as its greatest purposes, and he yearned for the realization of its highest ideals. Such was the man. He was an honor to his district, to his home, to his State, and to his Nation—to the old South and the new South and the great Nation.

But of that I shall not speak further. I met him first when I came to the Senate, just when the war clouds were lowering and had burst across the Old World and were threatening this land of ours. I was attracted to him because of his charming personality, and because we had

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some tastes in common; and I shall talk chiefly of another side, the human side, of the character of this man.

He loved fair dealing, the open, freedom, and the light. He hated darkness and sham and hypocrisy. He loved great nature, her forests and streams, her fields and flowers, the firmament that shows the handiwork of God. He loved the finer things of life. He loved the beautiful and true, poetry and music, and I believe he heard the music of the spheres, and certainly understood the song of the angels, "Peace on earth, good will to men." He loved the grand old masters. He loved the bards sublime. These finer things of life appealed to and were enjoyed by him. He was also an ardent, a true sportsman, that believed in giving his quarry a fair, an even chance. He loved to look upon the faces of kindred spirits in the camp-fire's glow, in the haunts of the denizens of the wild. His pulses thrilled and his blood leaped at the sound of the chase and sight of the quarry, at the sight and feel of the bending rod, the humming reel, the swirling waters, and the leaping bass.

He was a true sportsman, and I liked him well on that account, my taste for recreation and diversion running along in that line. Personally, he was a most charming man. I loved the man. He inspired friendship in others, being himself a staunch friend. His friends to him were right always, loyal and true, and no service he could render them was ever difficult or irksome. But no more will we feel the hearty hand clasp, no more will we enjoy the genial smile of BOB BROUSSARD. He is gone, and there was no more fitting end to a life, I think, than to that of this man.

I stood at his grave side yonder in the Southland. I saw the people, the rich and the poor, the proud and the humble, the lowly and the great, from his town and from the State and all the countryside gathered there about his

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body in the open. I saw them come to pay tribute to his memory for the last time, and I was glad to be there with them. It was an occasion of genuine grief and mourning. The common people were his friends, and they loved him. They so regarded and affectionately spoke of him as "BOB" BROUSSARD; and there in the sunshine and among the flowers, surrounded by a host of friends whom he had served loyally and well, he was laid to rest.

He lived his life not for himself alone, and at the balance must be set down as one who loved his fellow men. He loved his neighbor as himself. He was the friend of man.

Died, ROBERT BROUSSARD,
And until the future dares forget the past,
His fate and fame shall be
An echo and a light unto eternity.

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Address of Mr. Poindexter, of Washington

Mr. President: It is a peculiarity of republican government that men are controlled by their affections rather than by force. I have been very much interested in noting, in the addresses to which we have just listened, the repeated testimony of those most intimately acquainted with the bright and shining spirit who has passed from among us to that quality of Senator Broussard which excited the affection of his associates and of his people.

It is not my purpose to undertake on this occasion to perform the duty, however pleasant it would be, a duty which has already been so well performed in part by his eminent colleague who now occupies the chair [Mr. Ransdell in the chair], and no doubt will be performed more elaborately hereafter—to compile or to express the story of his achievements, to make a digest of the accomplishments which he was able to bestow upon the people whom he served as a public official; but rather it is by appearing here in person and saying a brief word as the expression in part of the sentiment which I feel as it were to lay upon the grave of Senator Broussard, if I could have the sweet privilege of doing so, one of the beautiful flowers which the speaker this morning said that he loved so well. It is not in what we say upon an occasion like this that we do honor to our friends, but it is in what we feel.

It was my privilege and good fortune to have served in the House of Representatives with "Bob" Broussard, to have been a member of active committees in the Senate of which he was a member, to have known him to some extent in a personal and social way, to have met

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his family. I have as one of my friends a constituent in my home town who formerly came from Louisiana and was an old and intimate friend of the late Senator BROUSSARD and who on many occasions has spoken to me in a feeling way of the qualities of manhood and friendship of our deceased brother.

Senator BROUSSARD's interests, although particularly exercised in the care of his own people, although his energies were concentrated upon the service of his constituents of Louisiana and in the solution of the economic and the governmental problems that were peculiar to that State, were not circumscribed by the boundaries of Louisiana. There is a difference in public men in that respect. Some have but little interest or but little concern for anything in the range of congressional activity that does not immediately and peculiarly concern their own States. Some are inclined to consider their duties and obligations as limited to securing and holding the approval of those to whose vote they owe the position which they occupy. Senator BROUSSARD took a broader view of his functions as a Senator of the United States, and while he rendered adequate and more than adequate service to the people whom he specially represented, yet also he served the Nation well.

I have been informed and instructed by my associations with Senator BROUSSARD as to the great international interests and possibilities of foreign trade and commercial exchange—the relations which this Nation ought to occupy toward the Latin-American Republics, which are near neighbors of the State of Louisiana; and I found that he was a man of vision and of sense, who could appreciate the developments of the future from which the country, and the State of Louisiana among the rest, would profit in due time if we availed ourselves of our opportunities in that regard. I spoke of him a moment ago as a bright

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and shining spirit. Those words came to my mind and to my lips on the moment as expressing what perhaps was his chief characteristic. He was a man who, immediately upon acquaintance with him, aroused the affections of those whose own natures were so properly and normally adjusted as to respond to contact with merit. I have a picture of him in my mind, from a mere casual circumstance, with no particular reason why it should remain there other than the force of the man himself—of Senator BROUSSARD delivering an address in the House of Representatives. I do not even remember now the subject of his address, but I remember the man. There was a deep and lasting impression left upon me by the conviction which I formed at the time of his character, of his courage, of his pertinacity, of his intellectual brightness, of his deep interest, of his sound policy, of his sincerity. There are but few men who have that indefinable capacity of so fastening themselves upon the memory of those with whom they come in contact.

Senator BROUSSARD had to a pronounced degree that quality. If I had never seen him again, if I had never renewed my acquaintance with him under more intimate circumstances in the work in the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, of which he was a member and which considered many important questions to which he gave the benefit of his peculiar information and deep interest; if I had never had the privilege of meeting him in a social capacity or of serving with him as a colleague in this Chamber, I yet would have remembered him as standing out distinctly among all the strange figures who appeared in that numerous legislative assembly—by the one occasion of which I have spoken.

Mr. President, I formed from these associations a sincere attachment for our late colleague. I believe that those who fully appreciate the nature, the true functions of public office in this country, understand that it is not its dig-

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nity that constitutes the worth of office, it is not the honor that comes from it, it is certainly not in pecuniary rewards—because they are small, small in comparison with those in other countries of equal power and wealth—but the true worth of public office is in the fact that the subject with which we deal is man himself; that the material with which we work in our everyday task is our fellow man; that we have in our care and under the control and direction of the functions of this great office, for better or for worse, for good or for ill, the destinies of the human race.

I have sometimes wondered as to the exact significance of the saying of the great Teacher of the Christian religion to the poor fishermen at the Sea of Galilee, when he called them around him from the sordidness of their occupation and said to them: "I will make you fishers of men." I have some slight conception of what it meant, and I have felt that if there is a true worth in public office there was something of that nature in it, that there is at least an opportunity for a public man in a position of power, under our Government, to use that power to be a "fisher of men," to save men from the evils which constantly pursue them, to protect them, to put them in such a way that they may guard themselves from that principle of destruction which is constantly attacking the rival forces of virtue.

Senator BROUSSARD conceived, at least as demonstrated by his performance, that characteristic of the position which he filled. He was a fisher of men. He was bound to the men whom he served by the ties of his heartstrings. There was no demand which could be made upon him for service, even though it called for the supreme sacrifice, that he was not ready to deliver.

Mr. President, I consider it a privilege and an honor on this occasion to pay this brief tribute to his memory.

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Address of Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware

Mr. President: The friendships between men, how they arise, how strong they become, their extent and lasting qualities, are in a measure hardly capable of analysis and sometimes rest almost entirely in the particular personality of the individuals.

I had not even the pleasure of a slight acquaintance with Senator Broussard until he had spent many useful years of his life in serving the people of his State and country. When I met him first, as I believe all men were, I was attracted to him, and as our acquaintance ripened into friendship I knew I was honored by the regard of another man in public life who was worth while.

Those who knew him a longer time and served with him before failing health had come to indicate the termination of his useful labors are much more capable than I of speaking regarding his public services. It was after he came into this body that there grew up between us a friendly intimacy which I prized, and which I know was agreeable to him, that I came to appreciate his uncommon ability, his high conception of public duty, and his attachment to those he liked. I do not know of any man whose friendship has been more pleasant and grateful, with whom association has given more satisfaction, and whose good opinion I cherished more than that of Bob Broussard.

No man could be brought into association with him and admitted to his friendship without feeling, as I did, the privilege that one had in this association. No one is grieved more sincerely than his colleagues in this body who knew him well, and the better they knew him the more they have been affected by his death.

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His continued illness brought every day from among his colleagues affectionate inquiries as to his condition, and universal regret is the manifestation here of the high regard in which he was held.

Other men have served longer in this body, other men have had greater opportunities to distinguish themselves here in the country's service than he, but no one has deserved and held a higher place in our affections and esteem. No one has more fully lived up to the ethics which prevail here as to the relation of Senators than our friend Senator BROUSSARD, in whose honor we have come together to-day, and to perpetuate whose memory and high service these exercises are now held.

I shall not attempt to review his eminent public service or to relate the many interesting episodes of his career. It satisfies me to record here in few words the tribute of a friend who loved and mourns him.

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Address of Mr. King, of Utah

Mr. President: We pay tribute to-day to the memory of one who was respected and honored not only by the people of his State but by a large circle of friends and acquaintances beyond its borders. My words will come haltingly as I speak of one for whom I entertained not only a profound regard but a deep and genuine affection.

I first met Senator Broussard when we were both Members of the Fifty-fifth Congress. He had won notable political victories in his own State, and by the electorate of his congressional district he was commissioned to serve in a broader field, where his ability and genius and high qualities speedily secured for him a wide acquaintance and a national prominence. Soon after meeting him we became warm friends, and during the four years that I served in the House of Representatives it was my pleasure to be associated with him in a very intimate manner. He continued in the House for a number of terms thereafter and was then chosen by his State for service in this great legislative body. I met him frequently during the years of his service in the House and after he came to this Chamber, and during all of the years of our acquaintanceship my respect and affection for him increased. While we differed in our views upon many subjects, nothing ever occurred to disturb the cordial and deep-seated friendship existing between us.

It is somewhat difficult to describe the characteristics and qualities of this man, who had all of the charm and the chivalry which finds expression in the life and conduct of the true "southern gentleman." There was a courtliness and a frank desire to please and serve others that immediately attracted attention and won the admiration and

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respect of those with whom he came in contact. He always manifested the keenest interest in the welfare of the weak and the unfortunate. His heart went out in a spontaneous fashion in behalf of those, no matter how humble their situation, whom he believed to be wronged or the victims of any form of oppression or tyranny. Injustice in any form aroused bitter resentment and opposition in his heart. In combating what he regarded as a wrong or as an injustice he was relentless and indeed implacable.

He so loved life in all of its forms and the sunshine and the peace and the joy of friendships that controversies and battles were not voluntarily sought or entered upon, but when the occasion, as he believed, demanded that an issue be made, he met it with unflinching courage and fought to the end, asking and giving no quarter.

Children always attracted him; he loved their smiles and their ways. Their very weakness and need of protection appealed to his nature. I have known him to stop ragged urchins upon the street, attracted by their tears and by their smiles. They realized that he was their friend, and they evinced undisguised joy and pleasure in all that he said and in their association with him, whether brief or prolonged.

Reference has been made by the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ransdell] to the love that Senator BROUSSARD had for trees and flowers. Soon after my acquaintance with him I became aware of his passionate regard for the woods, the fields, and the flowers. He would often take me into the country surrounding this city. His happiness seemed to be complete when he was walking through the woods and pointing out the trees and their varieties and characteristics and directing attention to the birds and to the flowers and to the rich treasures which nature spread out to our view.

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At times he seemed to be restless in the confinement which his congressional duties compelled. He was impatient to get into the country and to escape from the conventionalities common to urban life. He derived strength, spiritually and intellectually, from contact with nature, and from association with wood, and field, and farm, and river, and mountain, and the varied forms of life therein. Contact with earth, Antæus-like, gave him strength and also gave him deeper sympathy with all things that have life. It has often been remarked that men of the broadest vision, of the deepest sympathy for humanity, and who possess the fullest comprehension of the purposes and mission of life come from the fields and the farms—live in close contact with nature. The thought has often been expressed that those who have glimpsed more truly the future of humanity and the destiny of this Nation came from the soil and found their chiefest joy in the fields and woods and in association with nature's rich creations. I have sometimes thought that those who live near to nature have a schoolmaster that teaches sincerity and leads the faltering footsteps into the paths of truth. It awakens within those who find joy and happiness in the forests and streams and mountains and plains an intense longing for knowledge as to the cause and purposes of life; and it develops a faith, perhaps often blind and indefinable, and produces a conviction, which influence their conduct, that life is an expression of vital and eternal forces, and that back of man is a power, infinite and immeasurable, which seeks man's welfare and development and the triumph of the ethical and spiritual over the dark and sinister forces of materialism which grapple with humanity and seek to drag men into darkness and despair.

It has sometimes been said that the conventional, the artificial, and unreal take deepest root in the cities, where the lines of separation between rank and class are more

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distinct. However that may be, the great movements which our country has witnessed—movements moral or that made for greater political freedom—have always found the most earnest and devoted advocates in the agricultural and rural sections of the land; and from the fields and farms, from the villages and hamlets, whenever required, there have streamed mighty hosts of free Americans whose hearts responded to the call of country and duty, and whose spirits were attuned to catch the first cries for justice and for the defense of national honor.

Mr. President, Senator BROUSSARD, in his public career, manifested the characteristics which became strongly marked in his youth and were in part the product of his early life. Chivalrous and brave, kind and generous, always ready for service and sacrifice, devoted to what he conceived to be his duty regardless of the consequences; these and other characteristics equally strong and manifest accompanied him in the active and vigorous life which he led.

We often hear it said that a man is brave and courageous; and courage is often spoken of as a common attribute of man. Speaking generally, probably this must be conceded. Nevertheless, when responsibility is placed upon men and when every act is watched by a thousand eyes and every word and deed subjected not only to examination but often to bitter and unjust criticism and misrepresentation, we find the test for true courage and bravery. Men often shrink from battling against the tide of public opinion. They surrender convictions in the face of violent opposition and bitter criticism. It is natural to desire the esteem and applause of associates. Certainly it brings satisfaction to have the praise of friends as well as those who are within the wider circle in which we move. Senator BROUSSARD was essentially a man who gave friendship and who desired friendship. He had the

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natural instincts of the buoyant personality. I think the man who possesses the broad view of life desires friends and associates and the maintenance of the most friendly and indeed affectionate relations with all who come within the range of his activities. Such a desire is not an evidence of weakness, but a manifestation of the truly human, as well as the divine, within us. The cynic and the misanthrope, the person dissatisfied with life and filled with envy and hatred, is not the natural or the normal man. He is something of an excrescence upon the social organism, and too often retards and stifles progress and is a sullen foe of the forces of truth and righteousness. Our departed friend loved the living, vital, pulsing things around him—not only the trees and flowers and the birds and the voices in the field and forest, but he loved humanity and saw in man an unfolding of the purpose of a wise and beneficent Creator. Life was not, in his view, a failure, but a triumph; not a starless midnight, but the glorious effulgence of a noonday sun. Man, in his view, was not made to mourn, but to have joy and to achieve and to accomplish. If there are sorrows and pains in man's pathway, there are likewise joy and happiness and compensations. The preponderating forces are for truth and justice, for joy and happiness, for peace and progress, leading humanity from the plain to the mountain top of sunlight and glory.

While he recognized that there was evil and darkness in the world, he believed that the forces of righteousness and truth would dominate and in the end reign supreme.

When confronted with a situation calling for action he did not temporize or compromise. He did not balance the question to determine where the advantage or the disadvantage would lie, so far as his personal welfare was affected. He sought to apply the standard of justice to private as well as to public conduct, believing that

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there was an immutable moral law by which all human conduct would be judged. He sought to so live that his conscience might be keen to respond to the great moral issues of life. Though, as stated, he was broad and tolerant, and, indeed, sympathetic toward the views of others, he became adamant when he thought that the right was assailed or an injustice to the weak was being done. He was not dogmatic or bigoted with respect to ethical or political issues, although where a moral issue was presented he spoke with great feeling and his nature was aroused until he became a powerful protagonist of the cause which he espoused.

My last long visit or talk with him was on the occasion of the reception given to Marshal Joffre, who came as the representative of France to this Government a few months after our country had entered the war. At the reception I recall the animated conversations that occurred between him and Marshal Joffre and M. Jusserand, the French ambassador. Senator BROUSSARD was a brilliant French scholar, and the distinguished representatives of France were greatly delighted to meet him and converse in the tongue of their beloved land. After the reception was ended we left the building together and walked for some distance, and then stood for more than an hour talking upon many topics. It was a beautiful night, and he called attention to the stars and to the beauty and glory of the night. He spoke of Joffre and of France and of the heroic struggle which was being made by the French people to defend their nation as well as the cause of civilization. He loved the French people and had unbounded confidence in their genius and greatness. He said that the French people could not be defeated because of the sacredness of the cause for which they were fighting and because they had found their soul and possessed a heroism which was the product of something superhuman.

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He was then not well and showed physical indisposition. In some manner our talk took on a religious phase. He manifested no apprehension because of his illness, and indicated that he had no terror at the thought of what we call death, and manifested a profound faith in the immortality of the soul and in the life beyond the grave. Agnosticism was repugnant to him and the materialism of the hour found no abiding place in his heart. Life to him was not an accident. He could not view man as the mere product of blind evolutionary forces. He was not a monist, but a believer in an Omnipotent Everlasting Father who guides and directs and holds in His hand the destinies of man and nations.

As I recall his words this night, as well as views expressed by him upon other occasions, I have no doubt but what there was within his soul that trust and faith so simply and beautifully expressed by Cardinal Newman:

Lead kindly light, amid encircling gloom,
  Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
  Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see the distant scene—
One step enough for me.

His was a faith that was perhaps not the product of philosophical inquiry and scientific investigation. He believed in God and in His power and mercy without attempting an explanation of the faith and hope within him. He saw in the woods and in the fields and in nature's varied forms of life immortality, not death. The expression of Fouche, carved upon the gates of the cemeteries of France in 1794, that "death is eternal sleep," was abhorent to him, and he regarded it as denied and disproven by the manifold forces cognized by finite man. I believe that he was truthful with himself, and that is the form of "veracity" which, as Huxley says, "is the heart of mo-

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rality." Progress, development, growth; that is the mission and purpose of life and the destiny of man. His faith in the immortality of the soul was such as that, with Paul, he could exclaim, "Oh, grave where is thy victory! Oh, death where is thy sting!"

He had no sympathy with the materialism of the age and the efforts of men to destroy the verities of Christianity by the poisonous philosophy so prevalent in the land. As science reveals the conservation of energy, so he believed in the conservation and the indestructibility of life. Mrs. Browning's words, which portray the attitude of many toward life and its great problems, accorded with the views of our friend who has passed to the life beyond. She says—

> For everywhere
> We're too materialistic—eating clay
> (Like men of the West) instead of Adam's corn
> And Noah's wine; clay by handfuls, clay by lumps,
> Until we're filled up to the throat with clay,
> And grow the grimy color of the ground
> On which we are feeding. Ay, materialist
> The age's name is. God Himself with some
> Is apprehended as the bare result
> Of what His hand materially has made.

One of the greatest scientists and physicists of the age, Sir Oliver Lodge, after years of devotion to the profoundest questions which relate to humanity, affirms the persistence of life beyond the grave and the perpetuity of the living, vital, and intelligent ego within man. As I recall, he regards as demonstrable to the finite mind the proposition that life is eternal, and that man's individuality persists and continues untouched by the passing of the ages and indestructible by the forces controlling and upholding the universe. But, whether it may be demonstrated as a scientific proposition, it may be established that there is an intelligent and omniscient Power creating

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and guiding all. The history of humanity discloses that the human heart longs for communion with some power higher than that of man's, and seeks for guidance through the shadows of life from a source beyond this terrestrial sphere. And in all the ages from beyond the skies has come that light and spirit and faith that has illumined man's pathway, uplifted his soul, glorified his life, and opened his ears to the Voice that spake the truths for his guidance and salvation.

Mr. President, this I feel was the faith of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD. Death did not bring annihilation. Buddhism, with its Nirvâna, which seeks through the door of life death and extinction, was a creed to him repellant. What a contrast there is between it and the Christian faith which teaches that through the shadow of the grave there comes life, everlasting, eternal life!

And so, Mr. President, our friend is not dead; he lives and in a wider sphere seeks growth and development and service and achievement. His life was rich in service and his labors enriched his State and the Nation and added to the great reservoir of humanity's achievements. A strong, brave, chivalrous man has gone from our midst. His memory we will cherish in our hearts; his labors will live after him.

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Address of Mr. Gay, of Louisiana

Mr. President: Robert F. Broussard was born on his father's plantation, in the center of the section so beautifully described by Longfellow—

> Beautiful the land with its prairies and forests and fruit trees.
> Under the feet a garden of flowers and bluest of heavens,
> Bending above, and resting its dome on the walls of the forest.

They who have dwelt there for generations have named it the Eden of Louisiana.

The people who inhabited this lovely section of Louisiana were the descendants of that hardy race who had carved homes from the wilderness and rigors of climate on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and had by the fortunes of war been transferred without their consent to the British Government by the treaty of Utrecht.

They refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and refused to serve in the British armies against their beloved France. They were compelled to give up their homes, and thousands, after enduring untold hardships from disease and want, settled in a body in what was then French territory—Louisiana.

Their loyalty and affection for the customs, traditions, and language of France have been the distinguishing characteristic of these people for more than a hundred years. And yet to-day no community in this broad land is more distinctively American in all that the word "American" stands for.

Young Broussard was educated at Georgetown and Tulane Universities.

He began the practice of law at New Iberia, La.

He began his public career a few years later when the State was in the throes of the fiercest and bitterest contest

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ever had before or since—the struggle to eliminate the Louisiana State Lottery Co. and destroy that baneful influence on the moral and political life of the State and Nation.

This powerful corporation, with its immense wealth, was seeking a renewal for 25 years of its exclusive State charter. Through its great wealth, gathered from every hamlet in the Union, it had for years maintained a powerful lobby at the sessions of the State legislature, and exerted a controlling influence on legislation and on State and municipal elections, depending on special privileges to protect monopoly at the expense of the people and retain its servile henchmen in public places.

The long career of this institution, reaping a rich money harvest from every nook and corner of the Union, its tempting bait to provide millions for public improvements, hospitals, and education, had produced in the public mind a condition so aptly described by the poet Pope:

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The battle was not a political or party contest. It was a fight for civic righteousness, or government by the people, freed from the demoralizing influences which wrecked character and brought misery and crime in its wake.

Money, political, and business influences were freely promised, and more than $3,000,000 were expended in that campaign. Success for the lottery company meant financial and political advancement for those who marched under its banner. It had a full treasury to pay its champions on the platform and the press.

Its glittering promises to furnish large funds to build levees and prevent the frequently recurring destructive

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overflows of the Mississippi, which means ruin to so many; to equip hospitals for the care of the unfortunate; reduce the State debt, and assist in the education of the people formed a persuasive argument with many and quieted the consciences of others.

Mr. President, ROBERT F. BROUSSARD was then district attorney of his district. He could easily have trimmed his course to have kept fair weather and antagonized neither party to the fight. But with the unflinching courage which characterized his life to the hour of his death, he promptly enlisted under the banner of sound government, which demands public morality. He appealed to the conscience of the people against the alluring temptations to secure great public benefits from the earnings of an institution, clothed with the sanction of law, in its continued debauchery of the public service and its continued poisoning of the moral atmosphere by its insidious appeal to the gambling instincts so common to man's nature.

ROBERT F. BROUSSARD had no incentive to engage in this great contest but the call of duty to God and country.

With clearness of vision he saw the danger to the generations to come in the menace to the moral, social, and political welfare of the people and the State. He felt that it was a fruitful source of poverty, a seed bed of embezzlement, born of the frenzied desire to possess without the burden of toil.

From every platform he set before the voters that sound government could not be had except from the regular taxes paid by freemen, rather than from a corrupting institution, which, in the name of the State, enriched itself by the impoverishment of the many and made the State its pensioner.

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The fight ended in the triumph of the cause of good government and forever destroyed the privilege of gambling for a consideration paid into the public treasury.

He became a candidate for Congress in 1897, in a convention which was in consecutive session many days, and was finally nominated by the half of a vote.

He succeeded the distinguished Andrew Price, who after several terms in Congress retired to private life, having served since the death of his father-in-law, Edward James Gay, my grandfather, whose name I am, indeed, proud to bear.

BOB BROUSSARD was returned for nine terms without opposition in his own party and but once by a Republican.

He enjoyed the unique distinction of serving a full term in the House after his election to the Senate. By the constitutional enactment of the State his election took place two years prior to the beginning of his term as a Senator.

The people of his district insisting that they could not spare his services in the Halls of Congress, elected him to the House after his election to the Senate.

Thoroughly informed in the detail of the mechanism of every department of the Government, the cause of every constituent, no matter how slight, received his persistent and indefatigable service. No red-tape machinery could bar the way to a proper adjustment. With infinite tact, unfailing patience, good humor, and sound judgment he pursued the most obdurate of departmental officials, and he rarely failed to move the most persistent objector.

Having patiently and industriously examined a matter and satisfied himself of its justice, he knew no such word as "fail."

The ardor of youth, strengthened by mature judgment, and knowledge gained by advancing years, rendered him an expert in matters of legislation as well as in the routine of the departments, hence he was unusually successful

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before the departments, which learned to value his careful analysis of the matters presented and the perfect fairness with which he stated the question. All appreciated the never-failing energy with which he pursued the subject to a proper conclusion.

Loyalty to his constituents was the inspiration which prompted every act and vote in the long service in Congress of our departed friend.

The production of sugar cane was the prevailing industry of that splendid, fertile section, the third congressional district of Louisiana. The welfare of its population was unquestionably dependent upon its success and the price at which it was sold. An intelligent and energetic and industrious people had built up this great industry in competition with the cheap labor and better climatic conditions of Cuba. It was the constant subject of national legislation, probably more so than any other product of field, mine, or factory. An easy source of revenue, and in the judgment of many political economists it forms an ideal tax by reason of its universal use, and therefore it forms an equitable tax on all the people.

Congressman BROUSSARD had from the beginning of his life, in season and out, made a thorough study of sugar production and its cost in labor and capital. He knew the world's supply and what competition menaced the successful prosecution of this industry in the United States.

The great war just concluded shows conclusively that it is an essential requisite for the proper maintenance of the armies in the field, the toilers in the rear, and is a common necessity in the hovel of the poor and the palace of the great.

So intimately is the welfare of the sugar industry blended with the prosperity of the State of Louisiana that her representatives in Congress for the last 40 years have frequently voted against their political party affilia-

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tions on tariff bills, by reason of what appeared to them a hostile attitude on the part of the Democratic Party to this great economic interest of their State.

Senators Eustis and Gibson voted against the Mills bill, a Democratic measure.

The McKinley bill provided a bounty for sugar production. The sugar planters regarded the bill as hostile and dangerous to sugar production, and the congressional delegation either voted against the bill or abstained from voting.

On the Wilson bill, a Democratic measure, a majority of the Louisiana delegation in the House voted against it.

On the Dingley bill, a Republican tariff measure, the delegation divided equally in House and Senate.

On the Payne bill, a Republican tariff bill, there was again an equal division of the votes in the House and Senate delegations of the State.

From the inception of his career in the House of Representatives Senator BROUSSARD adopted as the guiding principle for every vote he cast a rule so well stated by Louisiana's "grand old man," Senator McEnery, who held the confidence and affection of his associates in this body, regardless of party affiliations.

Speaking to the Louisiana delegation at a meeting held for the purpose of determining the vote of the representatives of the State in Congress on the Payne bill, Senator McEnery said: "The rule that should guide us is, Will this bill, as a whole, benefit or injure Louisiana? What benefits the people of the State should be paramount."

Senator BROUSSARD always had this rule as his guide during his entire service in the House.

Criticism by the press of the State or by party associates never moved him to abandon this guiding principle. Party caucuses in Washington failed to bind him, al-

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though failure to obey the caucus mandate meant disloyalty to the party organization and brought him in direct conflict with the leaders of the Democratic Party in and out of Congress. With unflinching courage he stood alone in defiance of the caucus, accepted the humiliation of removal from the most powerful committee—the Ways and Means—on which he had earned a place by reason of long service coupled with exceptional ability and expert knowledge on tariffs.

In a memorial address on the life and character of Senator S. D. McEnery, on February 26, 1911, Senator BROUSSARD expressed his convictions on the duty of a representative of the people in Congress, defining, according to his conception, the duty to party and the broader duty to the people he represented. He said:

> Fundamentally speaking, the Democratic Party is built upon the idea of individual liberty in its broadest sense and scope within the limitations fixed by the Federal Constitution. That scope essentially includes the principles of self-government; that scope includes State sovereignty, which is the broader expression of local self-government, and essentially contemplates that the Representative, if he be a Member of the House, should receive his primary instructions from his constituency composing his district. And the Senator representing a sovereign State should receive primarily his instructions from the people of his State. * * * The Congressman—and I use the word in its true sense—is but the agent of the people who, or the State which, sends him here. The principle, so far as a Member of the House is concerned, is that those who elect that Member have the right to instruct him in regard to their interests, and the Representative has absolutely no right to act adversely to such instructions. When his conscience will not permit him to carry out his instructions, the Congressman's plain duty is to resign his office, or, better still, not to accept the office unless it is his purpose to act agreeably to the instructions of his constituency.

This was the chart by which Senator BROUSSARD steered his long political course, and the fierce criticism from

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party associates from all sections of the Union, as well as a constant continuation of attacks by a portion of the press and political leaders of his own State, failed to swerve him one jot or tittle from these well-defined principles—principles that led him to consider the interests of his constituents superior to the claims of party and to vote for the paramount interests of his people at the peril of his own political decapitation.

After his removal from the Ways and Means Committee of the House for refusal to permit a party caucus in Washington to dictate his course and vote, he boldly commenced his candidacy for the Senate, and faced the people on the platform from the Arkansas line to the Gulf, giving a reason for the faith that was in him with such logic and sincerity that he was chosen over two able and distinguished men of State-wide reputation, with great experience as campaigners.

The primary election being ratified by the legislature in May for a term to begin two years later, he went before the people of his district and was once more, although an elected Senator, chosen as the Representative of his district, a distinction without a parallel.

For 25 years he was a member of the Democratic State central committee of the State. He was an uncompromising advocate of the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and secured a portion of the State vote in the convention for the illustrious man who so successfully piloted our ship of state through the great war.

When ROBERT F. BROUSSARD entered the United States Senate he was no novice to the work of legislation. He came from the House a seasoned veteran, who had ably filled important committee assignments. The years of study on tariffs and waterways and naval affairs and public lands made him an authority on these subjects. His continued advocacy of an intercoastal canal from the Rio

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Grande to the East, at first considered a fantastic dream, drew the attention of engineers and transportation experts, and after some preliminary surveys the project was found not only feasible but a sound Government investment, which will eventually reduce the cost of transportation of the vast products of the coast, reduce the perils of ocean traffic, save insurance, and develop an immense section of our common country. It is already one of the permanent waterway projects of the Nation.

He closed his services in the House of Representatives on the last day of the Sixty-third Congress and entered the Senate on the first day of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

He served as chairman of the Committee on National Banks and as a member of 10 other committees. It is needless to say that his fund of information, acquired by long service in the House, made him an efficient and useful Member.

He was a firm supporter of all the war measures of the President. His health, already impaired on his entrance to the Senate, was rapidly undermined by the strenuous demands on his time, pouring in a steady stream from thousands of constituents. Against the advice of his physician, he remained at his post of duty. Every heart throb beating with love of country, he felt the call of duty to give his all, and he gave the last full measure of devotion with the same self-sacrifice that the noble, heroic dead gave on the battle fields of France. He knew his physical machinery was giving way, yet with that sublime courage which so persistently characterized his whole life he gave his all to his country.

He died at home with the faithful and devoted wife, his loving companion of years from youth up. He was, indeed, a tender and affectionate husband. His religion was bound by no creed. He believed in the fatherhood of

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God and the brotherhood of man, and delighted in service to the weak and those in distress.

The elements of success in that long career, unmarred by a single defeat in so many contests in which his personality and his conduct were frequently the issue, were the traits so lovingly described by an author as the characteristics of the Creoles of Louisiana, "A people that are tender-hearted and sympathetic in their social and domestic relations. The almighty dollar, that great object of universal devotion throughout our land, seems to have no genuine devotees in these particular villages." These splendid people, who retained on the shores of the Gulf and the banks of the beautiful rivers and bayous of south Louisiana the customs and language of their ancestors through generations, are distinctively American. These people who, indifferent to the material things, lived in their simplicity, paying great heed to the spiritual and romantic, loved ROBERT F. BROUSSARD with an affection rarely found in all this earth. He was the one trusted adviser and confidential friend to whom they could bring their business and family troubles and find a ready sympathizer and able counselor. He possessed a rare perception of human character with an iron memory which never lost a face or place or an event once seen or known. No man could overreach him, excepting only those to whom he gave his heart.

The affection of these people for their distinguished fellow citizen became expressed in their familiar and endearing term "Couzan Bob."

An illustration of the confidence in his power and influence is well told by an occurrence during his senatorial campaign. In the same primary there was a strenuous campaign for the nomination for governor. One of these eloquent gentlemen addressed a large audience in south Louisiana. At the close he was warmly congratulated by

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one of his hearers, who had been deeply impressed. "Well, then," said the speaker, "I can count on your vote for governor?" "Oh, no, no, sir; me for 'BOB' BROUSSARD—'Couzan Bob.'" "But," said the candidate, "he is not running for governor; he is running for the Senate and I am running for governor." "Well," was the reply, "me don't care about that; you be for 'Couzan Bob' and he 'p'int you governor."

He held the hearts of his people with unbounded affection. His campaign centered around no issue save the personal success of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD. In a district so distinctively Creole material interests could never overcome the spiritual and romantic friendships of the everyday masses.

The relation between ROBERT F. BROUSSARD and his constituents is, however, best described by our illustrious President, who has with remarkable clearness in words expressed the human trait of friendship when he said at Manchester, England—

> Friendship is not a mere sentiment. It is based on a principle; upon a principle that leads a man to give more than he demands. It is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and common desire arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship. Friendship depends not on fancy, imagination, or sentiment, but upon character. Real friendship is abiding; like charity, it suffereth long; loyal in ill report, and the brightest jewel of happy days. It is the highest, truest love. Its heights are serene; its valleys cloudless. It requires a capacity for faithful affection, a clear discernment, and a beautiful disinterestedness. Fragments of friendship are precious, but a whole, real friend is a man's greatest blessing. Faith with loyalty and courage brings one close to the kingdom of heaven.

The soul of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD was filled to the utmost with this precious quality.

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When the funeral services were held under the sunny skies and majestic live oaks in front of the courthouse at New Iberia, the eloquent tributes by Congressman Rodenberg, of Illinois, and Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi, found receptive hearers in the thousands of tear-dimmed eyes and aching hearts of the vast multitude who laid aside the business of the day to pay a last sad tribute to the loved leader and friend of the whole people—the true type of the Louisiana Creole, who embodied the lovable traits of that people so noted for its hospitality, real friendship, and splendid citizenship.

He died poor in purse but rich in noble deeds and great service to the State and the Republic.

His name will share the common fate which comes to all, regardless of exalted stations occupied or wealth possessed; but the inspiration to the youth of the State of that long life of service, of unselfish patriotism, and heroic sacrifice to duty in the hour of his country's peril will bear fruit in a higher and nobler citizenship which will be consecrated to the perpetuity of a Government that will stand for justice and civic righteousness for all the peoples of the earth.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I want to say that these same faithful people who so loved and admired ROBERT F. BROUSSARD have arranged to see that his virtues receive fitting commemoration by the erection in his home city of a monument or other suitable memorial, and from the prospectus setting forth the purpose of this memorial association I wish to read the beautiful tribute paid our departed friend at the time of his death by one of his Louisiana friends and admirers:

The career of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD must impress his people with the inspiration that talent and character, unaided by fortune, may bring place, power, and reputation. It must stir in them a solemn pride that a long tide of power and repute may come to an honest man and leave him whole-hearted and pure

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minded, unscarred by temptation to yield the right for victory or to stoop low for gain.

As a lawyer, as district attorney, Congressman, and Senator, "BOB" BROUSSARD made multitudes of friends. He was entitled to them, for he was loyal and generous. Affection for him was widespread and deep, both in Louisiana and at Washington, and extended to many of those with whom he contended. He had that faculty of winning and captivating men which belongs to the warm-hearted. His passing will bring a tear to many an eye in Louisiana, and sadness to many hearts more.

Magnetic in personality and a natural leader, BROUSSARD established himself as political chieftain of the third congressional district. By the force of those qualities and by the practical value of his services in Congress, particularly to the sugar interests of the State, during the many years he was there, he so won the district that opposition to him was never considered.

He never "fell into line" for old abuses, even though those who profited by them might be in position to give him trouble in his campaign. He held aloof from combinations of politics, and upon all specific State issues he stood for cleaner and better conditions in life and politics.

He refused to profit by oppression, or to submit to it. Upon one occasion, in his campaigning, he encountered what he took to be underhanded tactics in his adversaries. He made a speech, at one of his meetings in the third district, denouncing these tactics. It was a genuine outburst of oratory, grand in its fire and patriotism, somber and powerful in its defiance, and superb in its declamation. It was in French, and we doubt if any Mirabeau or Vergniaud ever poured forth a more livid flood of indignation and passion.

Yet the chief characteristic of this dead Senator was lovableness. He was sunny, even tempered, just, patient, kind, unselfish, and generous.

Peace to your ashes, BOB BROUSSARD. "There has been frankincense and myrrh in thy life which will not be lost now that thou art ground in that mortar, wherein God's will is the pestle, which men call eternity."

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Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, January 27, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *January 27, 1919.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the life, character, and public services of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

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PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SATURDAY, *April 13, 1918.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That a committee of eight Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. BROUSSARD, to be held in the city of New Iberia, La.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I send the following resolutions to the Clerk's desk and move their adoption.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, a Senator of the United States from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That a committee of 11 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will announce the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Watkins, Mr. Estopinal, Mr. Dupré, Mr. Lazaro, Mr. Aswell, Mr. Wilson of Louisiana, Mr. Sanders of Louisiana, Mr. Martin, Mr. Rodenberg, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Rucker.

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The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the final resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, April 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *December 9, 1918.*

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, January 26, 1919, be set aside by the House for the purpose of paying tribute to the life, character, and public services of the late Senator R. F. BROUSSARD, of Louisiana.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent that Sunday, January 26, 1919, be set aside for eulogies on the late Senator BROUSSARD, of Louisiana. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SATURDAY, *January 25, 1919.*

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates Judge Watkins, of Louisiana, to preside to-morrow.

SUNDAY, *January 26, 1919.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by Mr. Watkins as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, our Father in heaven, for the men who think deeply, act nobly, and accomplish deeds for the public weal, men who fix their thoughts on the eternal values

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of life and leave behind them paths which others may follow with impunity.

Such were the men whose accomplishments and deeds we are here to record. They have gone, but their works live.

Give us the intelligence, the courage, and grace to do the work Thou hast given us to do, that we may pass serenely on to the larger life in the realms beyond.

Bless, we pray Thee, their colleagues, friends, and those who are nearest and dearest to them in life with the blessed hope of the life eternal.

We are startled and our hearts are bowed down by the sudden and unexpected departure of another Member of this House. Comfort us, we beseech Thee, and all who knew him, in Thine own way.

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Footprints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

And everlasting praise be Thine through Him who taught us the way and the truth and the life. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Martin, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, January 26, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

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Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, several Members desired to address the House to-day upon the life and character of Senator BROUSSARD, but are unavoidably absent. I therefore ask unanimous consent that all Members be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

There was no objection.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Martin, of Louisiana

Mr. Speaker: I enjoyed the privilege of being a close intimate friend of the late Senator Robert F. Broussard, a friendship that existed from the time that he first entered public and political life.

I met him first when as a recent graduate in law he followed the leadership of the late Gov. F. T. Nicholls, and side by side with our present Chief Justice E. D. White and ex-Senators Murphy J. Foster and Donelson Caffery he stumped the State in the great antilottery campaign in a successful effort to rid the State of an institution that had for many years exerted a most corrupting influence in State politics.

Senator Robert F. Broussard was born August 17, 1864, on his father's plantation at Loreauville, near New Iberia, La.

As a boy he attended the public and private schools of his home parish until he attained the age of 15 years, when he entered Georgetown University, at Washington, D. C., where he remained for three years.

In 1885 he was appointed inspector of customs at New Orleans, from which position he resigned after taking the civil-service examination and qualifying as assistant weigher and afterwards as expert statistician.

While working for the Government in the city of New Orleans he found time to attend the law course at Tulane University, from which institution he received the degree of bachelor of laws in 1889. Returning to his home in New Iberia, he formed a law partnership with T. Donel-

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son Foster, a brother of ex-Senator Murphy J. Foster, under the firm name of Foster & Broussard.

From his boyhood he took a great interest in public affairs, both State and national, and it was but natural, therefore, that his political activity should be coincident with his entrance into the practice of his chosen profession.

He was made a member of the parish Democratic executive committee, and soon afterwards was elected as a member of the Democratic congressional committee and Democratic State central executive committee, and remained a member of the last-named committee for more than 25 years.

When in 1890 the Democratic Party in the State of Louisiana was torn asunder on the antilottery question and the burning issue was whether or not the charter of this institution should be renewed by the State, Mr. BROUSSARD joined the antilottery forces, and in this memorable campaign, which at times threatened bloodshed, he showed himself to be a fearless, aggressive, and eloquent speaker, and from then on his political advancement was most rapid.

In 1892 he became a candidate for district attorney for his judicial district, and though he was bitterly fought by the prolottery wing of the Democratic Party, which controlled the parochial organization, he still won out by a small majority, being the only antilottery candidate to carry the district in this election. With such consummate ability did he fill this office that he was subsequently reelected without opposition.

In 1896 the Hon. Andrew Price, who had most ably represented the third district in Congress for many years, withdrew from public life and declared that he would not stand for reelection.

The struggle that followed for the Democratic nomination, though friendly, was both sharp and spectacular.

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Judge A. C. Allen, a well-known and able jurist, of St. Mary Parish, contested for the nomination with Senator BROUSSARD, then district attorney. In those days nominations were made by conventions, and in the selection of delegates for the convention there was a contest in every parish in the district.

When the convention assembled at Morgan City the result was still in doubt. The instructed delegates were evenly divided between the two candidates, and it remained for the parish of Terrebonne, which, with 18 delegates, was entitled to 9 votes, to settle the issue.

Balloting was delayed for many hours in the effort made by both contending factions to capture the organization of the convention, but this did not result in an advantage to either candidate.

The roll call began in breathless silence, with all eyes centered on the parish of Terrebonne, whose 18 uninstructed delegates were entitled to one-half vote each. It was generally known how all of these delegates would vote, with the exception of one man, and upon his half vote depended the final outcome of this most exciting contest.

This man was John R. Grinage, who, when his name was called, rose in his seat and said: "Gentlemen of the convention, Tennessee has her 'Bob Taylor,' New Orleans has its 'Bob Davy,' and I believe the third district should have its 'BOB BROUSSARD.' I cast my vote for BOB BROUSSARD."

This brought this remarkable contest to a close, and BROUSSARD's nomination was thereupon made unanimous, and he became the Democratic nominee from the third district.

But his troubles were not yet over. The sentiment in the third district was strongly for protection, and the Republicans placed in nomination Judge Taylor Beattie,

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of Lafourche, a most able and well-known jurist and statesman, whose splendid record as a Confederate soldier and as district judge made him a most formidable opponent.

Both candidates favored protection and both were most forcible speakers, but BROUSSARD had the advantage over his opponent in that he spoke French as eloquently as he did English, and in a district where French was the mother tongue of a large majority of the voters this advantage was used with most telling effect.

BROUSSARD's majority in this election was 2,833 votes, the smallest majority he ever received in his contests for Congress.

He served in the Fifty-fifth to the Sixty-third Congresses, covering a period of 18 years, and so well and faithfully did he serve his constituents that he was opposed in but three of the nine consecutive times that he ran for Congress.

In 1912 Congressman BROUSSARD announced himself as a candidate for the Senate against the Hon. J. Y. Sanders, now a Member of this Congress, and who was then governor of the State of Louisiana. Gov. Sanders had been elected by the legislature to the Senate in 1910 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator McEnery, but having declined to resign the governorship in order to take his seat in the Senate the legislature thereupon elected the Hon. John R. Thornton to fill the unexpired term of Senator McEnery.

Congressman Arsene Pujo, who had served the seventh district of Louisiana with great ability for many years, also entered the senatorial contest. It was conceded from the outset that the race was between Sanders and BROUSSARD, and it was thought that the candidacy of Pujo would weaken BROUSSARD, as Gov. Sanders was the organization candidate. This three-cornered contest for the Demo-

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cratic nomination was one of the most exciting in the political history of the State, as both BROUSSARD and Sanders were able and aggressive campaigners, and both were extremely popular.

BROUSSARD, however, developed remarkable and unexpected strength in the city of New Orleans, which was thought to be the organization stronghold, and when the vote was counted it was found that BROUSSARD had such a substantial plurality over his two opponents that Gov. Sanders declined to run in a second primary, and Congressman BROUSSARD was thereupon declared the nominee.

While Senator BROUSSARD was elected to the Senate in 1912, yet as he was not to take his seat until March 4, 1915, it appeared that he would have to retire from public life for two years.

But his friends and constituents would not consent to dispense with his services and insisted upon his retaining his seat in Congress until he entered upon his term of service in the Senate. While he met with some opposition, he was nevertheless nominated by a large majority and elected for his ninth term in the lower House, where he served until he was sworn in as United States Senator.

Senator BROUSSARD'S success in Congress was due to the fact that he was always vigilant and zealously guarded the interests of his constituents. He seldom addressed the House, but when he did he always commanded attention, as he spoke eloquently, forcibly, and to the point. He was a bold and aggressive debater, and he never hesitated to assert his views plainly and unequivocally, nor did he hesitate to fearlessly challenge that which he did not approve.

As the Representative of the great sugar-producing district of the State of Louisiana he made a close study of the sugar industry, especially as to the necessity for its protection against foreign competition, and it was gener-

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ally conceded in both branches of Congress that he was an authority on any question pertaining to sugar.

That his intimate knowledge of this industry and aggressive fight in its behalf when it was being assailed by free-trade advocates was an important factor in saving the sugar industry in Louisiana from destruction is admitted by everyone familiar with the facts.

He was severely criticized, both at home and at the Nation's Capital, when he accepted an appointment on the Ways and Means Committee at the hands of Mr. Cannon, who was then the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives.

But this appointment enabled him to render signal service to the sugar, rice, and lumber industries during the framing of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill under the administration of President Taft, and that his action met with the approval of the majority of the people of Louisiana was shown by the fact that he was subsequently elected to the United States Senate, even though he was opposed by two popular and strong contenders.

He conceived it to be his duty to faithfully reflect the views of his constituents and to sustain the policies to which they stood committed. Adverse criticism never for one moment swerved him from this course, and an appreciative and admiring constituency not only indorsed this policy but they did not rest satisfied until they had elevated him to the highest office within their gift.

Senator BROUSSARD's activities in Congress were not, however, confined to tariff issues. He was most vigilant and watchful in behalf of the rivers and navigable waters of Louisiana, and through his efforts many of our natural streams were improved and made navigable, and the great Atchafalaya Harbor at Morgan City was recognized by this Government as a worthy project, and financial aid is now annually extended in deepening and improving that harbor.

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It was Senator BROUSSARD who was among the first to grasp the great advantages that would accrue to Louisiana by the construction of an intercoastal canal from the Rio Grande to the Mississippi River. He made repeated trips with the United States engineers over the proposed route of this canal, and so impressed them with the great relief that this would give in the way of transportation that upon the recommendation of the engineers the project was adopted, and this canal, which will do so much for the development of south Louisiana, is now in course of construction.

When Senator BROUSSARD was sworn in on March 4, 1915, the Democratic Party was in control of the Senate, and the recognition which the leaders gave him was indicative of the reputation he had gained in 18 years' service in the House. He was made chairman of the Committee on National Banks and was a member of the Committees on the Census, Claims, Library, Manufactures, Naval Affairs, Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, Post Offices and Post Roads, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Rules.

While Senator BROUSSARD served but two and one-half years in the upper House, yet in this time he established for himself the same reputation for ability, efficiency, and brilliancy which he had established in the lower House. His duties in the Senate were both numerous and exacting, but they were discharged with such fidelity, and the results obtained were so satisfying to the people and great interests concerned, that it was generally conceded that had he lived he would have been returned to the Senate without opposition.

Mr. Speaker, I have thus far spoken of the life and public services of Senator BROUSSARD, but I can not close these remarks without paying tribute to the personal character of one who, for more than 20 years, was my close personal friend.

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Constant association and contact with him not only inspired admiration of his ability, but no man could be much thrown with BOB BROUSSARD without soon learning to love him. It was never my privilege to know a man with a more even temper and with more personal magnetism. There was a simplicity in his manner that attracted everyone with whom he became acquainted, and to know him was to remain his friend and admirer.

He had few, if any, enemies. He loved his fellow men. His heart bubbled over with kindness and generosity.

In his political career he had many sharp and bitter contests, and yet when the smoke of the battle had lifted it was always found that BOB BROUSSARD had emerged from each struggle stronger and more popular than when he entered it.

He was a man of intense convictions, and he had the courage to express them, but he fought so fairly, so frankly, and so openly that no one even questioned his sincerity, and he came out of his political contests with the admiration and respect of those who had fought him most bitterly.

He was from the people and he always continued to be one of them. He gave to his humblest constituents the same consideration and attention that he gave the most powerful. He considered himself the servant of all the people, regardless of their station or condition.

The Broussard family is one of the largest in southwest Louisiana, and when Senator BROUSSARD was first elected to Congress his numerous kinsmen began to call him "Couzan Bob," and this name gradually grew in popular favor until he was called by this name from one end of the State to the other.

A Creole himself, "Couzan Bob" was the idol of the Creoles, who constitute most of the population of the third Louisiana district, and he was most deserving of

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this popularity, as he was always accessible and always faithful to the interests which they so repeatedly committed to his trust.

Senator BROUSSARD had no children, and his affections were centered upon his wife, Miss Manette Applegate, and she it was who through his months of illness and suffering was his constant companion and gave him the love, care, and attention that not only prolonged his life but made his last days cheerful and comfortable.

When death was near at hand, Senator BROUSSARD, notwithstanding the orders of his physician, refused to deny himself to his friends. So long as he was conscious he insisted that they be admitted to his chamber, and as long as he had the strength his hand was always extended in cheerful and friendly greeting.

Mr. Speaker, Senator BROUSSARD possessed many splendid and beautiful traits of character, but if I were asked to select the one which was most to be admired I would unhesitatingly say his devotion and loyalty to his friends.

I can never forget that even when death was staring him in the face he made a special trip to Washington for no other purpose save that of joining with his colleagues from Louisiana in the doing of a generous act which he felt would redound to my interest and advantage.

His kindness, his achievements, and his triumphs will always be a precious memory to those who loved him, and I count it as a priceless heritage to have had the privilege of enjoying his friendship.

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Address of Mr. Rodenberg, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: The one dominant, outstanding trait in the sterling character of Robert F. Broussard was his uncompromising loyalty to conviction. This was the very genesis of his political creed. With courage born of the highest conception of duty, he was as true and steadfast to his ideals as is the needle to the pole. With full confidence in his own rectitude of purpose, he valiantly championed that which he believed to be right without hope of praise or fear of criticism. His fine spirit rebelled at the very thought of sacrificing conviction for popularity.

"Bob" Broussard never deserted a friend or abandoned a principle. He knew naught of expediency and he did not care to know. He was incapable of deception, and all the world recognized in him a brave and manly man who, in victory and in defeat, stood "four square to all the winds that blow."

It is now 20 years since I entered Congress, and within a few days after becoming a Member of this body it was my good fortune to make the acquaintance of our departed friend. Instinctively attracted by a personality that radiated sincerity and good fellowship, I soon formed an attachment for him that ripened into the warmest friendship of my entire congressional career. There is no man, living or dead, for whom I entertained a more genuine affection that I did for "Bob" Broussard. Today, as I recall that close intimacy of two full decades, unmarred by a single unpleasant incident, I feel myself again under the spell of that genial, friendly smile. Again I feel the hearty, sincere handclasp; again I hear the pleasant, cheery words of greeting. Methinks I see him

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now, erect, courtly, chivalrous, unaffected—one of God's noblemen.

Mr. Speaker, it is not given to mortal man to comprehend the mystery of life and death. We can not quite understand a dispensation that removes from the activities of life one who was in the very prime of vigorous manhood and at the very zenith of his intellectual powers, with years of splendid usefulness still stretching out before him. With a faith that has its foundation in our belief in the immortality of the soul, we bow to the Divine will and accept the decree. It is this sublime and sustaining faith, a faith that rises "triumphant o'er our fears," that dissipates the mists of doubt and gloom, and in this solemn hour unfolds to our enraptured gaze the glories of the eternal morn. For him the mystery has been solved and the future stands revealed. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

Knowing BOB BROUSSARD as I knew him, I know that death had no terrors for him. I know that he approached the end calmly, unflinchingly, majestically. He lived and died—a gentleman. Great in life, grand in death, now glorious in memory! For 18 years he occupied a seat in this Chamber, and for more than two years he was a Member of the Senate of the United States. During all of that time he served his constituency with an intelligent zeal and fidelity equaled by few and surpassed by none. Broad in his sympathies, generous in his nature, unfailing in his good humor, "with malice toward none and charity for all," he was never known to turn a deaf ear to the cries of distress. Often have I seen him retrace his steps to dispense charity to some blind or crippled mendicant whom he happened to pass on the street. He was never happier than when doing some kindly, gracious act. He loved his fellow man deeply, sincerely, and that love found expression in the most thoughtful consideration for all who

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came in contact with him. Fearless and independent, courteous and cultured, conscientious and constructive, eloquent and logical, BOB BROUSSARD possessed all of the elements of the ideal legislator. It is no wonder that he has left the impress of his strong and virile personality upon the history of his day and generation, and in the memory of his many noble deeds, nobly done, he has reared for himself a monument that will endure so long as sentiment abides in the hearts of men.

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Address of Mr. Fordney, of Michigan

Mr. Speaker: We have met to-day to say our last official word of appreciation of our friend Senator Robert F. Broussard, whom so many of us remember as a long-time Member of the House. When the Sixty-fifth Congress assembled more than one-third of the Senate roll was composed of former Members of the House of Representatives. There were John H. Bankhead and Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama; Marcus A. Smith, of Arizona; Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas; John F. Shafroth, of Colorado; Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut; Thomas W. Hardwick, of Georgia; James Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois; James E. Watson, of Indiana; Charles Curtis, of Kansas; Ollie M. James, of Kentucky; Joseph E. Ransdell and Robert F. Broussard, of Louisiana; John Walter Smith, of Maryland; Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts; William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend, of Michigan; Knute Nelson, of Minnesota; John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi; William J. Stone, of Missouri; Gilbert M. Hitchcock and George W. Norris, of Nebraska; Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada; Jacob H. Gallinger, of New Hampshire; William Hughes, of New Jersey, William M. Calder, of New York; Asle J. Gronna, of South Dakota; Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee; Morris Sheppard, of Texas; William H. King, of Utah; Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia; Wesley L. Jones and Miles Poindexter, of Washington; Nathan Goff and Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia; and Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin.

Of the long list of our former colleagues in the House Senators James of Kentucky, Broussard of Louisiana,

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Stone of Missouri, Newlands of Nevada, Gallinger of New Hampshire, and Hughes of New Jersey have passed away within two years, a remarkable harvest of the reaper whose name is Death. Think of it! Of 37 ex-Members of the House who were Members of the Senate in December, 1917, six have died, or one in every six, a mortality more than ten times greater than that of our troops in war! Their going makes us exclaim, as Warren Hastings exclaimed when he heard of the death of his opponent in a political campaign, "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" It makes us remember that—

> The glories of our birth and state
> Are shadows, not substantial things.
> There is no armour against fate,
> Death lays his icy hand on kings.
> Scepter and crown must tumble down,
> And in the earth be equal made
> With the poor humble scythe and spade.

Mr. BROUSSARD had passed nearly half his life in the city of Washington. He was educated at Georgetown University, over beyond Rock Creek, and in his college days looked daily across from those commanding heights that overlook the Potomac to the tall Dome of this great Capitol. How little could he foresee that he would spend more than 20 years beneath this Dome. Going home to Louisiana from Georgetown he studied law at Tulane University at New Orleans. Then practiced law at his home in New Iberia, and almost immediately was chosen prosecuting attorney, which position he resigned to come to the House of Representatives. In this respect he followed the course that so many other men have taken. A successful representative of the people in the courts of his home community often has many of the qualities that make him a successful Representative in this House. And Mr. BROUSSARD had these qualities. He loved to be among

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the folks about him. He could have said truthfully with Kipling—

> For as they come and as they go,
> Whatever their degree,
> The people, Lord, Thy people,
> Are good enough for me.

It was no pretense that made him the genial companion of all those about him. He understood them, and so they were drawn to him.

He had other qualities that made him distinguished as a legislator. Though a Democrat, he was great enough to put the welfare of his people above his party. All who were here in the Sixty-third Congress will remember his gallant fight for the industries of his State when the Underwood tariff bill was under consideration. I will not stop to recall the details of that contest; but the stand made by Mr. BROUSSARD against party opposition displayed courage and patriotism of the highest type.

Though a fluent and convincing speaker, Mr. BROUSSARD did not often take the floor, and never unless he had something worth while to say. He did not expand the Record much, but every session he was with us in either end of the Capitol he expanded the list of his friends and admirers. He is with us no more, but he is the sort of man who makes us think more kindly of the world beyond the grave, because he is the sort of man whom we want to meet again. When he was living on this earth and we were about to go to New Orleans that lovely southern metropolis was more desirable if we knew that BOB BROUSSARD would be there to welcome us. In the eternal summer of the celestial city, free from care, eternity will surely be more worth while to those who can look forward to a welcome and a friendly smile from ROBERT F. BROUSSARD.

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Address of Mr. Sanders, of Louisiana

Mr. Speaker: Bob Broussard and I were born and resided in adjoining counties. We knew each other practically all our lives. We both entered politics together in the memorable campaign of 1892, he being elected district attorney of his district and I being elected a member of the Louisiana House of Representatives, both running and both winning on the antilottery Democratic ticket.

In the many campaigns that Mr. Broussard had in the early days when he was first elected to Congress from the third district we always fought side by side. In after years our political ambitions clashed and we fought each other just as frankly as we had previously fought together, but our personal relationship was never interfered with by our political differences. Politically Mr. Broussard and myself differed on many things and many occasions, but personally our relationship was always that of friends one to the other.

I believe no man in Louisiana had more friends than Senator Robert F. Broussard. He served those friends according to his lights and did that which he thought was right. His death has left many a sorrow and many a wound in Louisiana. He had a large circle of friends, a large circle of relatives, and a family all proud of him and of whom he was proud. He is gone. Peace be unto him, and may comfort come to those who loved him.

Mr. Dupré took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

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Address of Mr. Rucker, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: When I came to Washington as a Member of this House one of the first acquaintances formed beyond my own delegation was with the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, Robert F. Broussard. Our acquaintance was casual and formed in the usual way that such acquaintances begin, but as time passed and we were thrown more intimately together in the discharge of our respective official duties and had longer and larger opportunities for association that acquaintance developed into a friendship of the most ardent nature. I do not exaggerate when, speaking for myself, I confess that it became an affection.

I have been much gratified and pleased at the splendid tributes that have been paid to both the personal and official life and character of my deceased friend. I indorse all that has been so beautifully said. No man within my memory or acquaintance with whom I have ever associated was broader in his conception of the right or braver in his determination to do the right than Bob Broussard—true, generous, and confiding, always and under all circumstances a gentleman of the most pronounced type. When the sad message was flashed to Washington announcing the death of Senator Broussard my tears mingled with the tears of his loved ones. I realized that the Nation had lost one of its wisest and best legislators, the State of Louisiana one of her loftiest, noblest, and truest citizens, the wife a kind, affectionate, and loving husband, and I had lost one of my dearest friends.

Mr. Speaker, I can not add to this splendid eulogy contained in the New Iberia Enterprise of April 20, 1918,

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a paper published in the city where Senator BROUSSARD lived and died:

OUR MOST POPULAR STATESMAN LAID TO REST—THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND MOURNED BY THE WHOLE STATE.

Last Tuesday New Iberia had a day of deep, intense mourning and sorrow connected with the interment of Iberia's most distinguished son, United States Senator ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, known in terms of universal love and admiration as "Couzan Bob."

Nature seemed to have carved from the calendar the most beautiful day of the month and fused it with the very heart throbs of his numberless friends and devotees. The majestic oak in front of the courthouse, under which he lay in state, with its graceful branches and protecting foliage, lent a somberness, a deep-felt solemnity, mellowed in tone and tinged by the ever-evasive, eluding sun's rays, to the close of his life and career, a typical epic of completed work and silenced loyalty.

The mute evidence of tears and anguish, the unuttered sympathy and worship of the moving mass of humanity attending the obsequies, is the finest, most imperishable monument laid at his bier. Friend and foe in handclasp felt the sting of the silence of death. The yawning grave about to absorb his most precious mortal remains deepened the unfathomable mystery which cancels brilliancy of mind, loyalty of heart, warmth of friendship, of lofty service of a staunch and stern citizenship, exacted the inexorable tribute of reverence and homage. No public man on the stage of Louisiana's political life has ever dominated and controlled as completely as our departed friend BOB, the friendship, the love of his fellow citizens. The personal magnetism will be the phenomena of the record of his deeds. In all his varied and multitudinous activities—political, social, and fraternal—the same element of humane feelings characterized the results. He put man and life above the economic materialism which plays so large a part and is such a prominent feature in our American life and consciousness. It is this recognition of the successes and failures, the hardships and privations, the punishments and rewards of the common man of the crowd, the struggling mass of darkness and adversity, the achievements and triumphs of those creators of wealth and opportunities of the industrial realm of the State that wove

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the laurel wreaths, the crowns of service, placed upon his brow of useful, honorable career.

Leading the simple life, wanting no extraordinary luxuries and improvised extravagances, he became an apostle of work and industry without the poison of pride and the power of glory; the best weapon and equipment in his battles and successes were his spirit of natural humility and modesty.

He felt nature to be the best instructor, with no shams and pretensions, with no false ideas or artificial attitudes. Under stress, in storm and tempest, he followed the rigid rules of his manhood and conscience. He believed thoroughly in the honesty and integrity of the silent, spiritual voice in human nature. He worshiped the truth and the limitation of man's ability and intellectual capacity. He hated shadows and gave consideration to substance. Illusions appeared as the germs of poison in his great solemn enterprises. His whole public career, his congressional history, his senatorial services reflect this personality. Everything credited to his victories during the passions and prejudices of political campaigns, every trophy brought back from any contest where right and loyalty were being assailed and menaced, breathes in a large degree the soul of his unimpeachable, unspotted service. We have many Creoles and Acadians in the public life in the State of Louisiana, but none, so far, has yet, in public estimation and dispassionate judgment and unbiased mind, reached the height of popularity which must be accredited to the place in the niche of fame occupied by mourned BOB BROUSSARD.

Words can never heal the wounds and cure the scars inflicted by the Grim Reaper. Those pains have to be borne by saint and sinner alike. The laws of nature provide places for shadow and sunshine. Each is necessary to the enfoldment of creation. In our humble capacity, in the feeble way tendered to mankind by speech and signs and tokens, we offer our most heartfelt sympathies and sincerest condolences to the grief-stricken widow and immediate relatives.

An elaborate funeral program was insisted upon by the public and heartily responded to by the fraternal societies of which he was a long and valuable member. The Pythians, the Elks, and the Masons spared no effort and labor to make the last tribute and respect one of the brightest pages and chapters of his history. His life-long and intimate friend, Mr. Louis A. Walet,

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under the strong impulse of friendship and love, delivered a most eloquent funeral oration that is very seldom listened to and privileged to be heard. United States Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi, one of his colleagues in the United States Senate, delivered, in one of the noblest and most inspiring efforts, a eulogy of which any poet or painter of word pictures could be eminently proud. Many tears from men and women in the audience were seen to furtively roll down the cheeks as a manifestation of that sacred thrill which love and admiration generates. This completed the public ceremonies and started the march of the funeral cortege to the Catholic graveyard where his remains were temporarily laid at rest in the tomb of Mr. Felix Patout.

In spite of the presence of the sepulcher and the lugubrious atmosphere, a bright light, the sunshine of hope, pierced the pall of distress of his widow and relatives and friends when another of his former colleagues in Congress, Hon. William A. Rodenberg, of Illinois, delivered the last and most touching panegyric human being ever listened to. With a sincerity and deep emotion engraved on every word spoken and sentence delivered, his deep emotion and overwhelming fraternalism overwhelmed all within the reach of his voice. Love, friendship, and charity, fraternity and equality, were the reward which went down to the grave into eternity. Memory will forever treasure and refresh with the spirit of emulation and recognition of the heart's value and the soul's rôle in nature's days of busy life the crowded record of the career of BOB BROUSSARD.

The munificence and luxuriance of the floral decorations were reminiscent of the extensive ramifications, the effect his public life had upon the political and industrial development of the State of Louisiana. Those were symbols of the fruit of the tree of life, the utility of man's service, a health and the proper investment of man's faculties. Each garland represented every drop of his life dedicated to the duties he assumed and the work he accomplished. Upon that altar of self-sacrifice and inspiring patriotism rests a finished temple erected to his life and memory.

The pallbearers were his two brothers, Hon. Edwin S. Broussard, Albert Broussard; Richard P. Steckler and Preston Guilbeau, brothers-in-law; a cousin, Silvio Broussard; and intimate friends, Dr. George J. Sabatier, William H. Price, and Van Beary.

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Among the distinguished senatorial committee here to attend the obsequies were Senators James K. Vardaman, of Mississippi; Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma; Henry L. Myers, of Montana; William H. Thompson, of Kansas; William F. Kirby, of Arkansas; Joseph E. Ransdell, of Louisiana; and Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia. Mr. F. J. Delahoussaye, a page in the Senate, also accompanied the party to New Iberia.

The Representatives were Watkins, Dupré, Lazaro, Aswell, Wilson, Sanders, and Martin, of Louisiana, and Rucker, of Missouri. Representatives Estopinal, of Louisiana, and Langley, of Kentucky, who were also named on the committee, were unable to serve. The party was in charge of W. D. Meng, Assistant Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and included, besides the legislative Members, George W. Hess, superintendent of the United States Botanical Gardens and a close friend of the dead Senator.

Aside from the members of the two congressional committees, Gov. Pleasant, and others, among the prominent mourners were Federal Judge George Whitfield Jack and John C. Pugh, of Shreveport; Judge Winston Overton, of Lake Charles; Senator Bertrand Weil, of Alexandria; Senator A. O. Boyer, of Avoyelles; Col. W. M. Price, of Thibodaux; J. Martin Hamley, of Lake Providence; Lieut. Gov. Fernand Mouton; Secretary of State James J. Bailey; State Auditor Paul Capdevielle; Fred J. Grace, registrar of the State land office; Attorney General A. C. Coco; W. B. Lee, of Shreveport; R. N. Sims, State bank examiner; Numa Montel, of Lafayette; H. R. Speed, of Monroe; John H. Overton, of Assumption; Dudley L. Guilbeau, of Opelousas; Commissioner of Agriculture Wilson; and State Treasurer Henry Hunsicker.

In the New Orleans party were included State Food Administrator John M. Parker; Rene F. Clerc, president of the board of trade; Richard O. Otero; R. E. O'Rourke; James Thompson, of The Item; Maj. A. D. Stewart; and Senator G. J. Labarre.

Hundreds of telegrams of condolence poured in, among them one from President Wilson, which was as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1918.*

"Mrs. R. F. BROUSSARD,

New Iberia, La.:

"May I not express my profound sympathy with you in the death of your husband.

"WOODROW WILSON."

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The R. F. BROUSSARD Memorial Association was organized here. The leaders of the movement are the many friends of the late Senator, who were in attendance at his funeral. The association is headed by Col. W. H. Price, of Lafourche, president, and Henry B. Pruden, of Covington, secretary. Every bank in the State is authorized to receive donations and enter them to the account of the association. Further information will be given by Col. W. H. Price, of Thibodaux, or W. H. Pruden, of Covington. The object of the R. F. BROUSSARD Memorial Association is to raise funds to finance the erection of a suitable monument to the memory of Iberia's beloved son.

Mr. BROUSSARD was a loyal supporter of Woodrow Wilson for the presidential nomination in 1912, and it was largely through his influence that the vote of Louisiana at the Baltimore convention in 1912 was split between Wilson and Clark, and on deciding ballots swung to Wilson.

Mr. BROUSSARD enjoyed the distinction of being reelected to the House of Representatives after he was elected United States Senator by the legislature. His term as Senator did not begin until March 4, 1915, and in 1912 he was reelected to another two-year term in the House, serving in that body until he took his seat in the Senate.

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Mr. SPEAKER: I served longer in the House of Representatives with Senator BROUSSARD than any other Member from our State now in the House. He served in the House and the Senate together, in the various Congresses from the time he entered until the time of his death, over 20 years. Gen. Myer also served for 20 years. I believe that Sam Robinson served 20 years. Senator Ransdell has served more than 20 years, including his service in both Houses. Looking back over the various acts which Senator BROUSSARD performed and the various measures which he advocated, I can say there was no man who was ever more devoted to the interests of his constituents, or who was ever truer to his duty as a Representative, or who ever more properly aroused the great respect, admiration, love, and esteem of his constituents than ROBERT F. BROUSSARD. When I first knew him he appeared as a boy, soon after he had come from the city of Washington, where he had attended for three years Georgetown University. He was then in the customhouse in the city of New Orleans, where he was acting as a Government official. He held two different positions there. The whole city of New Orleans was then boiling and seething and worked up to the highest pitch over the question whether the Louisiana State Lottery should be continued in power as one of the most grinding monopolies ever organized in any government, whether it should be allowed to continue as a corporation, as a business institution, or whether it should be destroyed by the vote of the people.

At that time the people of the city of New Orleans, and to a large extent through the entire State of Louisiana,

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were so entwined and intermingled and influenced by the lottery and its ramifications were such that it reached nearly every household. Servants in the homes would pilfer for the purpose of contributing their means to sustain this infamous, iniquitous, corrupt gambling concern. It had been instituted during the Republican régime, during the reconstruction period, in the State of Louisiana, and had so embedded itself in the public mind and in public institutions, and had ingratiated itself so in the minds of the people, that it was almost impossible, even with the herculean effort made by the citizens of the State, to disorganize, disrupt, and finally overthrow it.

I speak of this for the purpose of showing the circumstances surrounding the people, the enormous amount of money at the command of the lottery. It was openly buying members of the legislature, it being known at the time as high as $50,000 was paid for the vote of a member of the house or a member of the senate.

During the time of this corruption by this gambling institution ROBERT BROUSSARD, a young man, a boy, surrounded by all these influences, stood up for the interests and rights of the people, the security and morality of the citizenship of the State of Louisiana. As referred to by Gov. Sanders, who has just preceded me, he and our former governor and United States Senator Foster, in the same section of the State as Mr. BROUSSARD lived, all worked together against the lottery. At the time the question was finally put to the legislature of the State of Louisiana the lottery amendment only lacked one vote of having two-thirds, one senator having died.

Mr. BROUSSARD was elected district attorney soon after he was inducted into the practice of law. His courage, his skill, his tact, were such as to enable him to win the confidence of the people to the extent that when he became a candidate for Congress, seven years after he

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became district attorney, at the age of 33 years, he was elected to Congress.

With him the question of sugar was paramount, this industry of the State being the living of his people, who were dependent on their success in producing and marketing their sugar crop, which was the staple product of the southern part of Louisiana. The very way that BOB BROUSSARD pronounced the word "sugar" was attractive. From the time he entered Congress up to the time of his death nothing was left undone that could have been done by him to enable them to reap the advantages of the great agricultural interests in his district.

There are many things which could be said of ROBERT BROUSSARD. Those of us who are here to-day who attended his funeral know there is no eulogy which could be passed in honor of the memory of the man which would greater ingratiate him into the love, affection, and esteem of his people. We who were there on that occasion, who saw the remains under the shade of the great oak trees, remember the vast concourse of people, too large to gather in any assembly hall. The subdued voices, the tearful eyes, and throbbing hearts expressed the confidence, esteem, and respect that his people had for him.

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Address of Mr. Dickinson, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: I regard it a special privilege to be given an opportunity to-day to speak a few words in memory of Robert F. Broussard, who served many years as a distinguished Representative in this great body, and who afterwards represented with honor his great State in the Senate.

Shortly after coming to Congress I became acquainted with Senator Broussard, then a Member of the House, and that acquaintance ripened into a friendship deeply appreciated by me.

At all times courteous and gentlemanly, he won the respect and affection of all with whom he came in contact. He possessed a most delightful and attractive personality, which charmed those with whom he associated. Knowing him as I learned to know him, it was easily understood why an appreciative constituency loved to honor him as a Representative in public life.

He had in him all the elements that tended to make a successful career, and those who knew him well in his long and courageous public service to his State and Nation have paid eloquent and deserved tribute to his worth and character. He had the courage of his convictions, and with marked ability did he sustain himself in the many contests that characterized his public life.

He entered upon his official career early in life and for nearly a quarter of a century he was in the limelight of public opinion. He met with singular ability every test that determined his fitness for the positions of trust that he filled with such distinguished honor.

He ended his long and brilliant career in the very prime of his manhood.

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My relations to him were those of a personal friend. His courtesies and friendship were appreciated by me. The recollection of his many virtues will be a sweet memory as long as I shall live.

There was a charm about him that few men possessed, and it was a delight to be with him. I learned early to love him and shall always be glad that I knew and had the friendship of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD.

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Address of Mr. Dupré, of Louisiana

Mr. Speaker: Robert Foligny Broussard was in his fifty-fourth year when death claimed him. Almost half of his entire life—practically all of his adult life—was spent in the city of Washington, first as a student of Georgetown University, then as a Member of this body for 18 years, and finally as a Senator of the United States, which exalted office he was filling at the time of his death. He had accordingly come to be a familiar figure in the Nation's Capital, and counted among the official and resident and visiting population of the District of Columbia a large number of warm personal friends. News of his demise, therefore, was received here with the greatest regret and with manifestations of deepest sympathy. How widespread was the grief in the State of Louisiana has already been emphasized. No one who witnessed it will soon forget the immense concourse from all walks of life and from every portion of the State that gathered in his home city of New Iberia last April to pay him the final tribute of sorrow and respect. The scene at the tomb was memorable and formed a setting worthy of the notable address by the talented and eloquent gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rodenberg], who had been the dead Senator's intimate friend for many years.

Mr. Broussard had a striking and outstanding personality.

Physically he was handsome of countenance, graceful and easy of carriage, and strong of body. His naturally robust constitution had been developed by his love of out of doors, for he was devoted to life in the open. He loved nature and all growing things—trees and plants and flowers. One rarely saw him without a boutonniere in his lapel.

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He liked all animals, especially horses and dogs, and reveled in the pastimes with which the latter are associated. He was an ardent devotee of the chase and a crack shot. He enjoyed racing—the "sport of kings"; was an excellent judge of horse flesh, and was himself a skilled equestrian.

Mentally he was richly endowed. He had a quick and alert mind, and his powers of absorption and assimilation were particularly keen. Knowing but little of a subject, he could, after hearing others explain it, grasp the salient points and present the proposition as his very own. He had a ready and picturesque flow of language, a pleasing voice, and a graceful delivery, either in the forum or on the hustings.

Socially he was charming. He was naturally companionable. He liked people and liked to mingle with them. One rarely saw him alone. He was an inimitable raconteur, and his fund of clever and witty stories was inexhaustible. He was most adaptable, equally at home in the club, in the drawing room, or with the man on the street.

Such qualities combined in one man were naturally calculated to draw his fellow men to his support, and it is only truth to tell that his individual following was as large as, if not larger than, any one public man that the State of Louisiana has known in many a decade. Thousands followed his personal and political fortunes blindly and unquestioningly. There was in him something that in other days the "Mill Boy of the Slashes" had, that the "Plumed Knight of Maine" possessed, and that, in our own time, no one would deny to the "Great Rough Rider," too early dead; but, unlike them, he never suffered defeat before the people in his near 30 years of public service.

"BOB" BROUSSARD was of Acadian descent, springing from that sturdy stock whose persecutions and wander-

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ings, while saddening the pages of history, have enriched the literature of all times. He was intensely proud of that fact, as well he might, and it made him all the more profoundly attached and loyal to that Louisiana where this race of people finally found an end to its rovings and tribulations—that Louisiana whose civilization has been leavened and broadened by its advent into its confines. For the Acadians brought with them, and ever since their descendants have practiced, the simple, homely virtues of truth and courage and honor and hospitality. Simple virtues, Mr. Speaker, but fundamental qualities, without which no man or people can or do count in the ultimate.

There, in that Acadian country, in its heart, mayhap within sight of the very oak that was to have been the trysting place of the lovers—Gabriel and Evangeline—on the banks of the historic Teche, with its slowly moving waters to sing his requiem until time shall be no more, he sleeps. God give him eternal rest.

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Address of Mr. Aswell, of Louisiana

Mr. Speaker: Senator Robert F. Broussard was a character most extraordinary. Highly educated and speaking two languages with unsurpassed fluency, he possessed a personal charm that was appealing and overpowering. A keen perception of people and conditions, added to an alert intellect and a ready fluency of speech, easily made him a forceful character at home and in Washington. At the time of his death he was the most popular man personally in the public life of Louisiana.

Gracious in manner, trained and skillful in debate, courageous, active, and vigorous in any cause he espoused, he won the admiration of men everywhere. His people loved him and signally honored him at every opportunity.

He is mourned to-day in Louisiana as few men have been mourned. Expressing sincere sympathy to the bereaved family and paying tribute to his memory in this hour of sorrow, I give this my earnest expression of grief in the loss to our State and Nation of a serviceable citizen whose distinguished ability was known and recognized throughout the country.

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Address of Mr. Clark, of Florida

Mr. Speaker: When I came to the House as a new Member, 14 years ago, one of the first Members with whom I became closely associated was our departed friend, Bob Broussard, of Louisiana. For six years he and I sat side by side, just about where I now stand, when the desks were in the House. I learned to know him intimately and well. I learned not only to have an affection for him as a friend but a very great admiration, which really ripened into love for the man and his many sterling qualities. Bob Broussard could not do a mean or small thing. He was generosity itself; he was the very soul of honor; and he was one of the most human of men it has ever been my pleasure to know. When he died humanity lost a friend. All of us who knew him here felt that we had lost an able, faithful, conservative legislator; a loyal, patriotic public servant, and a staunch, unselfish, devoted friend.

Mr. Speaker, it is seldom that we are privileged to meet a man in whom so many of the virtues are blended as there were in our late associate. As I say, I have been here some 14 years. Many men with whom I have served in this great body have crossed over the river and are resting under the shade of the trees since I first entered this Chamber as a Member. Many of them have gone out from among us and have solved the great mystery. Notwithstanding what may be said about the House of Representatives, it is at last the one great legislative body on this earth, and the men who come here are distinctly representative of the best that there is in the people who send them. Bob Broussard represented to a remarkable degree the highly intelligent, patriotic, lovable people of

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the State of Louisiana. He was in a large measure their idol, particularly the people in his immediate vicinity, who had known him all of his life. As has just been stated by one of his colleagues, he never met with defeat in a political contest. Knowing him as I did, it would be impossible to conceive how such a man could be defeated at the hands of his people.

We shall no more be greeted in this historic Hall by his ever-present smile; no more shall we here receive his cordial handclasp and look upon his face, which always beamed with brotherly love for his fellows; but let us fervently hope that in the great beyond whither we are all traveling we may again meet and commune with our beloved comrade and friend who has only preceded us to that beautiful land where there is no more of pain, of suffering, of separation, and of death. May the Great Father in His own good time grant unto us a reunion with our genial and lovable friend, BOB BROUSSARD, in "that mansion not made with hands eternal in the heavens."

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Address of Mr. Lazaro, of Louisiana

Mr. Speaker: We are met to-day to pay tribute to the memory of one of Louisiana's greatest men, Senator Robert F. Broussard.

As a member of the committee who went upon that sad journey when the remains of Senator Broussard were consigned to their last resting place in the city of New Iberia, La., I could not help but be impressed by the solemn ceremony when his body was laid to rest, and to me it was apparent that the people of Louisiana realized that in mourning the loss of Senator Broussard they were mourning the loss of one of Louisiana's finest men, truest citizens, and ablest statesmen.

No public man on the stage of Louisiana's political life has ever controlled as completely as did Robert Broussard the friendship and love of his fellow citizens. He never failed a friend and never forgot a favor. His personal magnetism will ever remain the crown of his success in public life. In all his activities, political as well as social, the results are characterized by the same element of humane feelings. He put men and life above the economic materialism which to-day plays so large a part in American life and consciousness. He led the simple life, and he represented his people without the poison of pride or the power of glory. His best weapon in his political battles and successes was his spirit of natural humility and modesty. He felt nature to be the best instructor in life, and he looked with contempt upon shams and pretensions. Under political storm and stress he followed the rules of his manhood and always stood by the dictates of his consciousness. He loved the truth; he hated shadows; he always adhered to substances. His whole public career

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in the House and Senate of the United States reflects his personality. His private life was clean, lovable, and honorable.

ROBERT F. BROUSSARD will go down in the history of his Nation and his State as one of the strongest, one of the most admired, and one of the best loved men who has ever served a people.

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ADDRESS OF MR. WILSON, OF LOUISIANA.

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall make no attempt to recite in detail the facts connected with and making up the interesting and eventful life history of our deceased friend and colleague for whom these services are held; one whom we all delighted to honor while living, and now in sadness and reverence pay deserved tribute to his memory and in some meager way express our appreciation for his distinguished services to our State and country.

Senator ROBERT F. BROUSSARD was known, admired, and loved by Louisianians everywhere, and the immeasurable loss to our State and its people occasioned by his untimely death has been most keenly felt in every section and in each locality.

Just as he had served effectively and unselfishly, with marked ability and exalted patriotism, the people and interests of his native State, guarding with watchful care and working with untiring energy for their advancement and development, so he was held in the universal esteem and affectionate confidence of all.

For many years BOB BROUSSARD was in the foremost rank of the men first in the affairs in Louisiana, and during his service in Congress had attained a standing and reputation that was national.

Independent, fearless, and aggressive, with a fine grasp of public questions, embodying the high ideals that appeal instantly to our people, ready of speech and with a charming personality, he soon rallied to every cause he championed a host of supporters. He was throughout his public career always an important factor in every great issue pertaining to the welfare of the State.

No man who has been a Member of this House ever had a stronger hold on the people of his congressional district.

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For 18 years he was continuously returned practically without opposition and apparently without any effort on his part except faithful discharge of duty.

A variety of explanations have been given to account for his unbounded popularity in the third Louisiana district and his continued and uninterrupted political supremacy there, one among which has become a tradition throughout the State and has received wide publicity elsewhere. This was that his kinsmen were so numerous, taking in all degrees of cousins, that they held at least a balance of power in the district, and all being loyal and devoted to "Couzan Bob" and proud of his distinction, took care that no one should interfere with his political interests or fortunes. If this interesting story were true, no higher tribute could be paid to the memory of any man.

I feel, however, that the true explanation is found in Senator BROUSSARD's own conception and appreciation of the function, duty, and obligations of a Representative in Congress. To use his own words, I quote:

> The Congressman, and I use the word in its true sense, is but the agent of the people or State which sends him here. The principle, in so far as a Member of the House is concerned, is that those who elect that Member have the right to instruct him in regard to their interests, and the Representative has absolutely no right to act adversely to such interests.

The will of his constituents as expressed to him in respect to their interests and their welfare was supreme authority and binding upon him, and he lived religiously up to this doctrine both in the letter and the spirit.

He worked assiduously and fought with determination for the people and the interests of his congressional district, the source of his commission and authority. No amount or character of criticism could swerve him from this course. Every position of honor or preferment com-

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ing with any element inconsistent with what he conceived to be his duty to them was brushed aside.

So, in my humble judgment, his faithfulness and devotion to the people and interests of the district which he represented, coupled with his fine ability to achieve results for them, formed the true basis for his great popularity and political success in Louisiana and served to give him the national prominence which enabled him to more effectively extend his career of usefulness to the needs of his entire State and beyond to the Nation.

While many of his party associates in Louisiana and at Washington differed with him as to some matters of party policy and in respect to what they held to be cardinal party principles, contending that the results which he sought could best be obtained by other methods than those which he felt should guide his course, yet no one ever doubted or questioned the sincerity of his purpose, the purity of his motives, or the high quality of his patriotism.

When he sought the Senatorship he took scrupulous care that his position upon all public questions in relation to which he might be called upon to act should be frankly stated and known to all the people of the State.

There can be no surer or more permanent foundation for enduring fame than that which is established by and results from a record of faithful public service, true to promise and to principle, such as characterized the life and public record of ROBERT F. BROUSSARD.

> Statesman, yet friend to truth! Of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honor clear;
> Who broke no promise, served no private end * * *

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Address of Mr. Estopinal, of Louisiana

Mr. Dupré. Mr. Speaker, my colleague [Mr. Estopinal] is unavoidably absent to-day on account of illness. He had prepared some remarks appropriate to this occasion which he sent to me, and I ask unanimous consent that they may be read from the Clerk's desk.

The Speaker pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

There was no objection, and the Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Estopinal. Mr. Speaker, after serving 18 years in this body and 3 years in the other branch of the Congress of the United States, Robert F. Broussard died at the early age of 53. This memorial service under these circumstances carries an added note of sorrow, for experience and the expanded powers of a remarkably fertile mind had equipped Robert F. Broussard for a still larger degree of usefulness to his country and his State in the years which, by nature's usual rule, should follow.

The details of the life and public services of our departed friend and colleague have been given so fully and with such sympathetic recognition in the Senate, and here to-day, that I will confine myself to briefly recalling one happy trait which he possessed to a very unusual degree—an unaffected democracy of manner and a simple, natural, and companionable relation with all people.

It is a rather rare man who is not sobered into reserve and formality of manner to some degree by elevation to high office, with its weight of cares and the engrossment of service on the one hand, and constant and subtle deferences which tend to feed his vanity and enlarge his sense of self-importance on the other. And more than often these influences develop that indefinable and

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really unnatural mien which is generally mistermed dignity. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD was one of these rare men. He was "Bob" when he began his official career, thus he remained throughout its lengthening years of official honors, and it was "Bob" who was affectionately and tearfully laid to rest in the town in which he was born and raised. His idea of dignity was work well performed and friends made, retained, and unaffectedly enjoyed.

Mr. Speaker, friends are discriminating—even old friends are, perhaps as much as new ones—and it takes solid qualities, real, effective work and accomplishments to satisfy them. These give grace, savor, and power to natural manner. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD measured up to the full expectations of those who put him here and kept him here. He was an able and faithful Representative and Senator.

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ADDRESS OF MR. WINGO, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: Senator BROUSSARD was one of those men whose strong personality, unflinching courage, and great ability commanded the respect even of those who differed with him. But these qualities not only commanded the respect of those who differed with him, but they also invoked from his supporters and friends a zealous attachment that was remarkable.

In a discussion of the character and qualities of Senator BROUSSARD my good friend, the gentleman from Louisiana, Judge Martin, handed me an article by Jules Dreyfus, of New Iberia, La., that expressed in such a fine way the feelings of the people of that great State that I shall confine my tribute to printing, as an extension of my remarks, this tribute from a lifelong friend:

ROBERT F. BROUSSARD

The demise of United States Senator ROBERT F. BROUSSARD marked a broad, dark, somber swath across the political horizon of Louisiana.

He was of unique personality and belonged to a class of his own. From a close survey of the political situation, his successor will fill the vacated Senatorship, but not replace the sympathy, the sincerity, the affection with which his labor has been received and accepted by his constituents.

That silent, mute bond of love and worship his strenuous work excited during his last days at Washington among his numberless friends and foes will illumine the valley of the dark shadows. His career was meteoric. Some of his political battles had a Napoleonic sweep.

The struggle for the United States Senatorship against entrenched officialdom reflected a high order of political skill and strategy. A wizard on the stage of the State's public life, his uncanny, mysterious power of hypnotism made him the patron saint of the largest individual following ever recorded. His entrance into public life, especially the beginning of his congressional career, was dramatic in the extreme, if not highly spec-

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tacular in some respects. Nominated by one-half vote majority at Morgan City, he at once became a fixed, honored institution in the State's political activities. He weathered all storms and turmoil with unflinching courage and conquered opposition, sometimes defamation and calumny, with such lofty magnanimity that left no scars, no stings. The charm of his manhood, the nobility of a kind, fraternal nature, the spirit of devotion to friends, and the recognition of the rights and privileges of political independence were assets no political expediency and necessity could ever threaten or destroy.

At Washington he prepared with dogged tenacity to render the yeoman service which posterity and the future historian will recognize as the masterpiece of his life's work. Stalwart in his views on protection, no tariff bill during his term of office at the Capital was ever formulated and submitted to Congress for ratification but bore the imprint of his views and the wisdom of his studies and experience. Having mastered, through close scrutiny and research, the intricate problems of the vexatious sugar questions, he became encyclopedic on the subject and a tower of strength during the precarious, menacing periods as blows and assaults were directed against the State's sugar industry. During all these times of stress, uncertainty, and vicissitudes his championship of sugar protection assumed a fervor, a dedication of service which culminated in his political canonization by the Democracy of the third district. Changes in Federal administrations, tampering with tariff bills, exploitations of the vagaries of comic economic principles, involving the annihilation or paralyzation of the sugar industry, never changed his stand, his position. Even at the risk of political ostracism, party expulsion, and savage criticism of a whole small world of bureaucrats, he stood as the Rock of Ages, the invincible defender on the ramparts, fighting libel, repelling economic fetiches, and anarchy. In the United States Senate, as well as the House of Congress, he was recognized as a fearless warrior for the rights, the security, the protection of every sugar planter, of every other industry of the State. He looked upon protection of American labor and manufactures through the eyes of a sire, a prophet. He had no hesitation in the choice of economic policies. He stood unfettered, from party tradition, upon the broad, comprehensive platform which proclaimed the industrial independence, the self-sufficiency, the development of the Nation and its

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resources. He was no visionary and felt contempt and scorn for the impracticable panaceas projected on the political screen by some misguided, sometimes misled, overzealous leader of the national Democratic organization. The consistency of his immovable stand during his participation in the construction and quadrennial revision of our tariff laws have earned the permanent, deep love, sympathy, and respect of those who looked to him for a solution of that ever-present menace. It has the elements of the fire of fanaticism, the living zeal, the quivering fervor of the crusader. But it is as "Couzan Bob," "le roi des Cadiens," "king of the Cajans," that future folklore will remember him, that legend will weave the laurel crown of sanctity. He has, with his own heart, his own lifeblood, created an imperishable shrine to which, for years to come, the stream of Cajan pilgrimage will be directed and the offer of reverence, the humble homage tenderly deposited.

No man before him in Louisiana's public life had the sentimental control in as absolute and astonishing a measure over the Creole. He seemed to possess the gift which could read, analyze, and absorb their scars, doubts, humility. With unerring accuracy, the master touch of the prophet, he obtained the unnatural, the supernatural, a complete crystallization of the sorrows, the trials, tribulations, the hopes and ambitions of the Acadian. He appeared as the manifestation of their power, right, and justice, and the height of lofty useful citizenship to which each one could aspire. He transmuted traditional sullenness, hatred, and prejudice into a force of militant brotherhood. He was inspiration and thrill. No audience, however hostile and antagonistic, could long withstand the magic touch. His personal magnetism was phenomenal and a mystery as well as a puzzle to his political rivals. In debates on the hustings, in addresses on the stump, the spontaneous electrification of the phlegm, the apathy, the indifference of the audience was instantaneous. The charm and the virility of his personality remained with him to the end. He had the art, the versatility, the agility, and nobility of mind that rendered his powers of mental penetration an ever-inspiring feature of his nature. This factor rendered, from an ethnographical point of view, the invaluable service that made his coronation as the true apostle of Creolism inevitable. This social achievement, after the effective dissipation of the lingering clouds of distress of a simple, but kind and highly romantic people, still

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remembering the historical privations and hardships that featured the compulsory exodus of their forbears, will rank with the best work of the great moral and social leaders of our national history and deserve the recognition of the highest authorities in sociology. Many a day will elapse before his people can again tender their hand of friendship to an approximation of what he steadfastly stood and worked for. No public figure in Louisiana to-day can share the exaltation of character, the glorification of principles, the sanctification of efforts which will mark the brightest, the most encouraging pages of a political history replete with service and stirring with sacrifice.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In accordance with the resolutions heretofore adopted, the House will now stand adjourned until to-morrow.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.), in pursuance with the order heretofore adopted, the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, January 27, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

TUESDAY, *January 28, 1919.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Senate resolution 422

Resolved, That the Senate expresses its profound sorrow in the death of Hon. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session } SENATE { DOCUMENT No. 452

WILLIAM JOEL STONE

(Late a Senator from Missouri)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
February 2, 1919

Proceedings in the House
February 2, 1919

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1919

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HON. WILLIAM J. STONE

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DEATH OF HON. WILLIAM JOEL STONE

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 15, 1918.*

Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco, offered the following prayer:

O God of our fathers, in whose hands are the lives of men and in whose power is the destiny of the Nation, look down upon Thy children gathered here in Thy name. In the way of Thy love Thou hast again visited this body and taken from it one whose power was our glory. Make us recognize that with Thee are the issues of life and death. Make us submissive to the decree of Thy divine providence. Thou alone can bring strength to those who mourn. Thou alone can bring peace to hearts oppressed by grief and pain. O grant that his loved ones may find strength in Thee to bear their loss. Grant that his loved ones may through their tears look up to Thee as the only source of joy and consolation.

Chosen representatives of a mighty people, we come to Thee in the most crucial day in the history of our civilization. O give us light that we may see Thy way among the nations. Give us strength that we may follow the light whithersoever it may be. Make our laws reflect Thy divine wisdom and may they direct the issues of the world unto Thy greater glory.

Give strength unto our President and to those in whose hands are the affairs of our mighty people. We pray above all things that they may have strength and power to endure and to fight to the end. Give strength to our men who in fields afar battle for our rights. Give strength

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to their arms that they may win victory and that through victory there may come peace. And grant, O Lord, that in the days of peace we may grow in power unto righteousness and unto the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, Senator STONE died on yesterday, at 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon. His funeral services will occur at the family residence at 4 o'clock this afternoon. His body will be borne to the capital of his State, arriving there on Tuesday morning. It will lie in state in the capitol building a part of Tuesday. It will then be conveyed to Nevada, Mo., for interment amidst those surroundings where he began his illustrious career.

In a few days more he would have arrived at the allotted threescore years and ten. Over half of that long period he had devoted to the public service. He now returns to his State the badge of his office, upon which there is neither blot nor stain. Dishonor never laid its touch upon the life of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. It may of him be justly said that all his mature life was devoted to his country. Possessing those great abilities which would have enabled him to achieve eminence in any position of life and to have acquired fortune, he chose to devote his talents to the public welfare and to lead a life devoid of luxury and to die without even a competency.

His love of country was so passionate as to be beyond the understanding of many men. His loyalty was so exalted that he was not always understood, for all could not rise to the sublime devotion which inspired his soul. I knew Senator STONE better than any man outside his immediate blood kin. I knew him so well that I am sure I knew his great soul—the soul of this great Missourian and great American.

Knowing him in this intimate way, I may be permitted to say that during the last three weeks constant news from

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the battle fields of France telling the story of how our lines were being pushed back by German hordes fell upon his heart with a crushing force. Of all the men I have known there is not one who seemed to me to feel so much the weight of anxiety for our cause, upon whose lips there was so passionate a prayer for victory for the arms of our allies and of our own soldiers. I use no extravagance of speech when I declare that could we restore to him the life that has passed out and bring him here among us clothed in health and flesh he would gladly give his life again if thereby he could serve his country's cause and bring to it a great and victorious peace.

At such a time as this and in the days that are to come, when the wounds of a bleeding world must be bound up, the Senate can ill afford, his State can ill afford, his country can ill afford, the world can ill afford his absence.

Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions and ask for their immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 225) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. STONE, which will take place at 4 o'clock post meridian to-day at his late residence in this city.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from his late home in this city to Nevada, Mo., for burial, in charge of the Sergeant at Arms, attended by the committee, which shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

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The Vice President appointed, under the second resolution, as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. Reed, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Smith of Arizona, Mr. Pittman, Mr. Jones of New Mexico, Mr. King, Mr. Kendrick, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Sutherland, and Mr. Fernald.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution and ask for its adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

WEDNESDAY, *January 15, 1919.*

Mr. REED. I ask unanimous consent to have an order made by the Senate at this time to fix a date for memorial addresses on the late Senator WILLIAM J. STONE.

The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That the Senate convene on Sunday, February 2, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public service of the late Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

Mr. BECKHAM. On January 2 an order was entered fixing February 9 as the date for memorial addresses on the late Senator James. Owing to a conflict in dates, I ask that the order be changed to February 2 instead of February 9.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Chair hears none.

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SUNDAY, *February 2, 1919.*

(Legislative day of Friday, January 31, 1919.)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I present the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 433) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire at this point to yield the floor to my colleague [Mr. Spencer].

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Spencer, of Missouri

Mr. President: In the infallible record of the Holy Scriptures it is written: "There are three things that are never satisfied—yea, four things say not, It is enough." The first of these is the grave, always demanding, constantly receiving, ever insatiable.

Again its awful power has been felt in this Chamber and ruthlessly it has summoned from service and association and cooperation William Joel Stone.

In the sad hush of death and in the calm reflection that follows thereafter many things are forgotten which perhaps ought never to have been remembered and many things are remembered which certainly ought never to have been forgotten.

After death the big things, commendable and worthy of emulation, in the character and speech and action of him who is gone appear like gold from the refiner's fire, and the dross of human imperfections, so common to us all, becomes alike valueless and discarded.

Great in mind, great in speech, great in accomplishment, as was the distinguished Senator from Missouri in whose memory we are this day assembled, he was conspicuously great in his loyalty and fidelity to his friends.

Ingratitude in public life is doubly regrettable and despicable. The small man when he finds himself in the possession of the place or the power for which he craved is apt to forget the help and self-sacrifice and encouragement of those by whose efforts his ambitions were gratified, and he yields easily to the suggestion of indifference or neglect in anything that concerns their interests and does not directly advance his own.

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No one ever accused Senator STONE of either disloyalty to his friends, personal or political, or of indifference to the things in which they were interested. He was a friend, tried and true, faithful and loyal, and in every county of Missouri there are multitudes of those who have followed his political career in the county, in the House of Representatives, as governor of his State, and as a Member of this body, and who constantly believed in him, trusted him, loved him, and revere his memory.

One of the repeated events of the political campaign last fall which I shall always remember was the loving devotion of this great number of people, most of them well advanced in years, who could not speak of Senator STONE without a tear, and whose affection and admiration, which represented the accumulated growth of a generation, nothing could either shake or destroy. He was the dominating power in the councils of his party, for 30 years. When danger threatened, when differences of opinion became acute, it was to his wise counsel and unquestioned party loyalty that all factions turned in confident willingness to abide by his decision, certain alike of its fairness and its wisdom.

He had the courage of his convictions. He won his political battles even when the odds seemed largely against him. He was one of the great men of his party in his State and in the Nation.

The eloquent words which he himself used in his great eulogy of Hon. James N. Burnes, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives 30 years ago this month, may with fitting propriety and with peculiar appropriateness be used of Senator STONE:

> He had iron in his blood. He was a dangerous man to wrong. He knew how to remember, how to resent, how to revenge. A fallen foe or a repentant one he was ready always to forgive.

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Accessible at all times to honorable reconciliation, an open foe did well to guard with caution and watch with apprehension. He was fruitful of resource, adroit in attack, masterful in defense, relentless in pursuit. His enemies, whether those who had done him a positive wrong or those who had stood as obstacles in the way of his great purposes, had never any reason to doubt that sooner or later an opportunity would come to test his mettle. He fought as occasion required, but honorably. Some who stood against him, in their most promising periods of apparent safety, have suddenly felt their foundations sinking and seen the fabric of their strength falling about them without comprehending the cause of disaster. Others he has confronted and sprung upon with the roar and crush of a lion, impatient of restraint, and swept them away at once. While his enemy stood upon his feet to strike and defy, he had in his blood the merciless instinct of battle and in his brain the inspiration of the warrior. But when the sun went down upon a battle finished there came back to his heart the gentleness of a woman and a longing to forgive and be forgiven.

As an orator Senator STONE was magnetic, forceful, eloquent in diction and in manner, thrilled and thrilling in the earnestness with which he felt and proclaimed his sentiments. Personal gain had for him neither temptation nor attraction. The best years of his life he gave to the service of those whom he represented. Efficient and painstaking, alert and resourceful, sympathetic and intelligent, he was ever engaged in the duties of his public life and had neither the ability nor the time to acquire anything for himself. He died a poor man in the things of this world.

Sorrow and joy are mingled together in this memorial service. Sorrow because of the vacant place, the vanished touch, the silent tongue, the lost companionship; joy in the contemplation of the great things and good things which abound in his long life of great public importance. We bow our heads in sorrow, but in the very midst of grief there springs up with ever-increasing frequency both

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gratitude and love for the good things that abide and forgetfulness of the mistakes and errors that are forgotten. The things that have been wrongly done and the failures which are incident to human life let us write them in the dew of the morning that the rising sun may destroy forever the record. The things in which we rejoice and which we emulate let us carve upon marble that they may with the increasing years survive forever.

If a man die, shall he live again?

It is the agonizing question in the hearts of those who remain. It is the problem that demands solution by every open grave. It is the unspoken thought of every mind.

Of the life beyond the grave Senator STONE had no doubt. Years ago he said:

> This I do know, that there is in me, as in you, a feeling which is independent of mere desire, a strange consciousness that is not connected with any sense of fear or hope, that there is something in us that is not "of the earth earthy"; that is not of this mortality, mortal. I take hold of this.

In the last hours of his life he sent a message to Sims, the veteran barber of the Senate, whose love for the Word of God and its teaching is known to many Senators upon this floor and from whom Senator STONE had more than once heard the simple story of the cross. He died on the very day when he had expected to again hear this aged negro preach, and the message which he sent is characteristic of what was running in his mind at the last, "Tell Sims to continue to preach the gospel."

Other things assume their proper place of insignificance in the shadow of eternity. Pomp and power and wealth and strength are empty baubles when death comes into view. It is so compellingly invincible. Its very silence speaks infallibly of its overwhelming power. Whether it comes without expectation or in the course of

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waiting, it is alike the manifestation of the absolute helplessness of man and of the power of God.

Once after traveling for hours over the plains and looking upon the distant hills and valleys and admiring now more and now less the changing scenes of ordinary things about me I came, almost without warning, to the very brink of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado that stretched out as far as the eye could see in a continued picture of indescribable grandeur.

Mountains of varied colors were piled upon mountains of changing hues, and in spite of their mammoth size seemed almost lost because of the far greater immensity of the gulf in which they lay—a gulf which the ceaseless river, looking like a slender band of silver at the distant bottom of the canyon, had cut through the centuries out of rock and earth.

I gasped for breath at the wonder of it. Man was impotent either to create it or to imitate it or to prevent it. It was like the rising of the sun by day or the queenly luster of the moon by night—the mighty work of Omnipotent God.

So in this hour we stand in solemn awe before death, impotent to delay or prevent. Kings and paupers are alike subject to its imperial decree. It is God at such a time with whom we have to do. He who "hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand and meted out Heaven with the span and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."

Money and rank and earthly achievement, like the froth of the boiling cauldron which for the moment is most conspicuous, soon disappears and fades away. The enduring things—fidelity, loyalty, sympathy, integrity, bravery, gentleness—are the characteristics that abide, and above them all that simple faith which, like a little

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child, accepts the things which God has promised and the words which He has spoken.

I never stand above a bier and see
The seal of death on some well-loved face
But that I think one more to welcome me
When I shall cross the intervening space
Between this land and that one over there;
One more to make the strange beyond seem fair.
And so for me there nothing is in death,
And so the grave has lost its victory;
It is but crossing with abated breath
And white set face a little strip of sea,
To find the loved ones waiting on the shore,
More beautiful, more precious than before.

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Address of Mr. Hitchcock, of Nebraska

Mr. President: We have gathered here to-day in memory of one who was in public life, with certain intermissions, for nearly 45 years, a record of public service and personal sacrifice rarely equaled even in the United States.

William Joel Stone had the force of character, ability, and education which equipped him for great success and a prosperous career in his chosen profession. Had he followed that profession he would have attained all the luxuries and indulgences which success in it brings. Yet he listened to the call of public service and at the age of 24 years took up the burdens of public life, which he carried, with few intermissions, until the age of 70, when he died in harness.

I have coupled with this public service a suggestion of personal sacrifice, and that was characteristic preeminently of this great Senator from Missouri, for practically all his life he lived, as he died, a poor man, content with the rather meager salaries which attach to public office. There was a quiet dignity, as well as a suggestion of pathos, in Senator Stone's attitude toward the world in which he labored so long, so ably, and so patiently for such modest recompense, when he might, like others of his ability, have commanded so much. I feel justified, therefore, in speaking of him as one who made a personal sacrifice in serving the public.

Mr. President, before a man reaches the Senate of the United States he has as a rule gone through a number of severe struggles which have on more than one occasion tried his mettle. I doubt, however, whether any Member of this body ever passed through a more tempestuous career of political struggle in his own State than did

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Senator STONE. He not only went through those struggles for himself but he went through those struggles for his party, to which he was deeply attached, and he went through them for his friends, for whom he was ready to make all sacrifices. He was a seasoned veteran when he came here.

He delighted in combat. He combined a wonderful degree of courage with a very unusual sagacity, and at all times he exhibited that fidelity to his convictions and to his friends to which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Spencer] has already referred. In all these contests he showed himself to be a foe to be feared and a friend to be trusted.

When he entered the broader field of national politics he took naturally and of right a high position of leadership. I remember particularly in the great Bryan campaigns, which began with the mighty revolutionary contest of 1896, WILLIAM JOEL STONE was one of the few old honored leaders who did not desert the standard of his party but who came forward with all his resources to carry out the party decree that had been rendered at the Chicago convention. Later, when his party was triumphant and Wilson was elected President of the United States with a Democratic Congress, Senator STONE gave to the great constructive measures which distinguished particularly the first term of President Wilson all the ability and all the energy and all the enthusiasm which he possessed. He struggled to bring about that party solidarity and party discipline which were absolutely necessary to carry these great national measures into effect.

Senator STONE had been a tower of strength in the days of struggling Democracy, and he became one of the active forces which made effective the great measures that were undertaken.

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Mr. President, let us not forget to consider the great, final sacrifice of Senator STONE's life. I have said he lived a life of public service and sacrifice. I fully believe that in the decision he reached, under which he felt compelled to separate himself from the dominant will of the country, under which he felt compelled to vote against the war which the country had decided on, he made that final sacrifice which only a strong and courageous man is willing to make in adhering to his personal convictions. I do not know with whom Senator STONE consulted. I doubt whether he consulted with anyone. I knew something of his decision before he made it public. I endeavored to dissuade him from it, but I found he was adamant in his conviction that he was right. He felt that he could not change his position without sacrificing his self-respect and doing violence to his conscience. He could easily foresee the storm of criticism which he invited, but he was willing to make that final sacrifice. He was ready to bear the criticism of the world and the opprobrium which enemies visited upon him; he was willing to encounter all that for the sake of adhering to what he believed to be right.

Senator STONE, as I have said, was a fighter. He was a man who had won his way into public life by adherence to his convictions and by devotion to his party. He was the "stormy petrel" of politics. The greater the storm the higher he rose above it. He was not willing when the great crisis came to yield his convictions. He was against war and so recorded himself. But when the country had made its decision and war was declared we all remember how Senator STONE took up actively and energetically the fullest and most complete support of all the measures proposed to make that war a success.

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Address of Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware

Mr. President: My acquaintance with Senator Stone covered a period of more than 20 years. Sometimes it had been of a close and intimate character, sometimes it had resembled that of a casual acquaintance, but from the beginning of the period until Senator Stone's death I admired him for his courage, for his ability and fearlessness, for his disregard personally of the character of the opposition he aroused or encountered. I believe he as unhesitatingly expressed his views, his likes and dislikes, as any man I ever knew.

A good many of us recall how once a presidential candidate of our party characterized the section of the country from which I come as "the enemy's country." We all probably remember the scream of opposition and antagonism in the public press when that expression was used. A political campaign had to be conducted in my section of the country as well as elsewhere, and William J. Stone was asked to take charge of and manage that Democratic campaign. He knew as well as any man what effort was involved, how unfriendly for the most part would be the attitude of the potential forces, and yet, as a duty he felt he owed to his party and his country, he accepted the work and conducted that campaign so far as it could be conducted in a masterly manner, taking advantage of every opportunity to further the interests of his party and its then candidate with great tact and consummate skill. Apologizing to none, currying favor nowhere, but maintaining the integrity of the principles of his party in the contest in every way, he overlooked no opportunity of which a brilliant intellect and tireless energy could avail itself.

It was a great pleasure to me to be associated with Senator Stone whenever our relations were of such a

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character that they could approach semi-intimacy. He was a very charming man in his personal relations with his friends, and I had the privilege of occupying that position from time to time, broken sometimes by periods of absence and now and then by occasions when we had somewhat violently disagreed on public matters or on questions of policy. Any man who lived with Senator STONE, in my opinion, had such periods. So far as I was concerned, at least, while courtesy might control him in small differences, when anything approached a fundamental difference it was well to be prepared for any condition of antagonism that might arise.

Senator STONE was a strong man and fought hard. When he felt strongly, personal consideration and personal friendship did not control his thoughts, speech, or action. He was undoubtedly a wise, able, and sometimes an intense advocate, and on such occasions personal considerations and personal relations, so far as my observation went, had little weight with him. He was a great believer in the efficacy of party regularity and party organization, and impatient of the actions of anyone unwilling or unable on ordinary occasions to subordinate his views to the opinions of his colleagues when those opinions were expressed clearly by the majority, and he never hesitated, so far as I know, to express to his colleagues, whether of his own party or the opposition, his opinion of their acts or position, and used no honeyed words to soften the asperities which might be engendered.

For his own part, there were very few occasions when he could not bring his own action into accord with what he knew to be the considered conclusion reached by his party associates. A man of this kind, Mr. President, is a useful legislator. My judgment is that either branch of Congress is better off the more men of this type are found among its Members. Life sometimes is not so pleasant,

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personal relations are often not so agreeable, but no man who respects strength and vigor and ability and the frank expression of views held by his colleagues can fail to appreciate the life and character of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. No one despised more than he a "carpet knight" in politics. He was a leader of men, and led them as commander of the fighting forces.

There have been occasions when mistakenly, as I think, he assumed positions on public questions not held by a majority of us. His attitude was almost invariably misconstrued and commented upon in an unfriendly way by many enemies, most of whom he despised; but, in my opinion, no one could ever properly accuse Senator STONE of being un-American or unpatriotic, for no man more consistently than he, after we entered into the great war, more loyally supported measures intended to strengthen our country, to uphold her power, and to bring her forces to efficiency and victory.

Senator STONE was a brilliant man; he was a clever man; he was an eloquent man; and he gave to his country the best that was in him. He has been a distinct loss to this body, and those of us who knew him best, even when cordial relations were sometimes interrupted, but whose appreciation of him survived momentary differences, know well that Senator STONE was a strong, able, conscientious American patriot, a great man, and a good friend.

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Address of Mr. Weeks, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: The Senate has assembled to-day to honor the memory of one of our late and distinguished colleagues, Senator William Joel Stone, of Missouri. While I did not have the pleasure of the close personal relationship with Senator Stone, either in committee association or long service enjoyed by some Senators, yet our association on the floor of the Senate and in other ways compelled my admiration of him and his tireless and efficient attention to the duties of his office.

Missouri is one of the very great States of the Union—important in natural resources, in its location, in its principal cities, and, more than in other ways, in the character of its people. When I came to the House of Representatives in 1904, as a result of the Republican landslide of that year, the political complexion of the delegation from Missouri had changed to some degree. I found there, however, firmly entrenched in the confidence of their constituents several strong Representatives, and notably among the leaders in that body two men who had even then made their impress on the House of Representatives and on the country—David A. De Armond, who at that time was a member of the powerful Committee on Rules and one of the deservedly leading debaters and Members of the House, who came to an untimely end in attempting to rescue his grandson from a burning building; and the other, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, Champ Clark, who, with great credit to himself and his State, is completing a term of service in that position as long as that great office has been held by any man in the history of our Government.

Being a new Member, with a maximum of time and a minimum of responsibilities, I had opportunity to study

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political conditions. Quite naturally my attention was called to a State which retained and promoted men of such ability and qualities, and my interest led me to look into the past and the then present senatorial representation of Missouri, only to find that the characteristics and qualities which had caused the selection of such Members of the House of Representatives had been equally evidenced in the selection of Members of the Senate from the earliest days of the State. Mr. Benton was an important figure in a Senate led by some of the greatest men in our political history, and his prominence and usefulness served as a standard which has been maintained throughout the life of the State down to our own time in the selection of men of great capacity to represent Missouri in the Senate.

As a recent example of this custom, Missouri was represented in the Senate during the last years of the nineteenth century by two of the most conspicuous men who have served in this body—the silver-tongued Vest and that sterling militant figure, Francis Marion Cockrell, who only recently ended his service in connection with the National Government.

Notwithstanding the great qualities of these men and others to whom I have not time to make special reference, they were succeeded by one who, in my opinion, excelled them all in political wisdom and leadership. Senator STONE was for many years a leading figure in this body. While I had never heard him speak when engaged in the practice of law, he was undoubtedly a most effective advocate in civil life. He at least brought that quality to the Senate and became the skillful advocate of the interests of the people he represented and of his political party. That he performed that service with great effectiveness is known to every man with whom he served. Those who have heard him will never forget his ingenious pleas for any cause in the interests of his constituents

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or the Democratic Party, although the soundness of some of the policies he advocated was sometimes questioned by his political opponents and even by his political friends. I have never heard any stronger arguments in such matters than he has made in this Chamber, and his loss to his State and to his party in this body is as nearly irreparable as can be the loss of any one man.

I had kindly and friendly relations with him. While an extreme partisan, he was on most cordial terms with many of those not aligned with him politically, and I shall never forget one incident in my political life which will always make me recall his friendly tendencies toward his associates. Soon after I entered the Senate I made a trip to the West which was largely political in its character. This was well known to Senator STONE, and my errand was not one in which in any way obligated him to give any attention to my visit to his State. Yet when I arrived in Missouri he was one of the first men to call on me at my hotel and welcome me to his State. He not only did that, but he took particular pains to express his friendly views about me and my mission to those of my political party, with whom he was on close intimate personal terms. While I did not learn this from him personally, I had ample evidence of its truth in many instances, and it showed a most unusual kindliness and friendly disposition toward a political opponent.

Few men have had a longer or more varied political service. Senator STONE served six years in the House of Representatives more than 30 years ago, was governor of his State for a term of 4 years, and served in the Senate for 15 years, undoubtedly having a life lease on the latter office. While he had reached an age when men might naturally be expected to retire or, at least, modify their activities, he continued strong and vigorous to the end, and if he had been spared I am confident he would have

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continued for many years to have been an important figure in senatorial life and in the leadership of his party.

Senator STONE was a consistent party man. He had a sincere belief and faith in the wisdom of the principles and policies of the Democratic Party, and to the day of his death he never tired or relaxed in his efforts to advance his party's cause. While I could very seldom agree with him on matters of political policy, I never questioned the sincerity of his faith in the doctrines he championed, and the vigor and sincerity with which he advocated them compelled my respect and admiration. I feel that I am expressing the sentiments of my colleagues when I say that his passing is deeply regretted among his old associates in this body, and in his death the citizens of Missouri have lost a representative whose first thought was of them, their welfare, and who was a most jealous guardian of their interests.

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Address of Mr. King, of Utah

Mr. President: The eloquent eulogies to which we have just listened leave but little for me to say, but the occasion and my loyalty to the memory of one whom I was proud to call friend bid me speak. We pay tribute to-day to one who was a great American, a tried and proven statesman, a sincere and uncompromising Democrat, a leader, a strong, independent, genuine man, who in a long and illustrious career established himself in his State and in the Nation.

During the memorable political campaign of 1896 I first met Senator Stone, though his name and achievements were known to me prior to that time. During the campaign just alluded to his qualities of leadership were conspicuously demonstrated. Thereafter and until his death he was one of the greatest political leaders in his party. Later, and when I had opportunity to become intimately acquainted with this great man, my admiration for his ability, sagacity, chivalry, and all those elements of leadership developed in so preeminent degree in him was increased. When he was called from our midst I felt—paraphrasing the words of Burke—like saying, "The age of political chivalry is done, and the glory of political leadership has departed." But, like all men who strive mightily, with undaunted courage, and who contend for the triumph of the principles in which they sincerely believe, he provoked animosities and encountered fierce opposition. The path of the strong man, of the bold and uncompromising man, always has and always will be beset with difficulties. This is true in every field of human endeavor. It is conspicuously true in the political arena and in all those fields relating to governments and questions affecting the State. Leadership results from contests, from the con-

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flicts which ever will exist among a progressive and virile people.

Senator STONE was deeply versed in the psychology of the people; he knew well the lessons taught in humanity's volume and had no illusions concerning the fierce and continuous struggles awaiting this and all other peoples. He was no visionary, and deduced his line of conduct from the experiences of the past and his rational and comprehensive studies of his day. Some men become leaders because they are opportunists. They seize upon some passing whim or seize the banner carried by an hysterical crowd. Such leadership is false and deadly. It brings humiliation to the erstwhile leader and defeat and disaster to his followers. Senator STONE was profoundly impressed with the view that there is an underlying immutable law which manifests itself in what we call social evolution and which finds expression in the social progress we behold in the human race.

While he regarded society as dynamic and not static, he believed it to be subject to unseen but nevertheless unchangeable principles. Cause and effect had application in human affairs and in the world's development and activities. Believing thus, he sought to understand the evolutionary processes finding manifestation in the world and to conform his conduct, and so far as possible the conduct of others, to these unseen yet controlling influences to which all are subject. He sought to ascertain the motives and purposes of individuals, communities, and nations, the conflicting currents which bore humanity, the causes and effects of individual, community, and State action and conduct. These questions he studied, and studied thoroughly. In his active and analytical mind these great forces and questions were weighed and balanced. Such study and effort gave him wisdom and qualified him for safe and brilliant leadership.

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His keen and discriminating mind enabled him to divine the dangers to State or party, as well as to anticipate the plans and purposes of his adversaries. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Senator STONE was his devotion to his political principles and the political party with which he was identified during his entire life. This devotion did not result from a desire for place or power, but rather from his supreme love of country, the form of government under which we live, and the principles for which the Democratic Party stands. He recognized that political parties were essential under our form of government, but he believed that political parties should exist not for the gratification of the ambitions or desires of any person or for mere party triumph but for the preservation of the Republic and the liberties of the people. Believing that the mission of the Democratic Party was to preserve the Constitution of the United States and maintain the sovereignty of the States and the rights reserved by them as well as by the people, he earnestly devoted himself to that party. Merely to be successful was not what he sought; he sincerely and earnestly desired his country's welfare. Autocracy or imperialism in any form was obnoxious to him. His political philosophy found expression in the undying teachings of Jefferson.

Senator STONE always trusted the people. He was vigilant to oppose power and any movement which sought to deprive the people of the States of the rights, liberties, and prerogatives which, under our dual form of government, they have reserved to themselves. In his view, the Democratic Party was charged with the sacred duty of defending the Constitution of the United States and the individual liberty of the American people. He was profoundly impressed with the view that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and that there is no promise of

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immortality even to a Republic which recognizes that all just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. Accordingly he viewed with apprehension any movement looking toward a deprivation of the States of reserved rights and the assumption of power and authority by the Federal Government not delegated to it.

By many he was regarded as a strong partisan. Strong men become strong partisans. Principles which they believe in become a part of the fiber of their being; they are ready to fight for them; they gladly die for them. But, I repeat, his devotion to party was superinduced by his love of country. If I were asked to name the chief characteristic of WILLIAM J. STONE I think I should unhesitatingly say it was love of his country. He believed in this Republic, in its destiny; he regarded it as a rich benefaction from an overruling Providence, a patrimony not to be squandered but to be sacredly protected; a light which in the darkness of the world was to shine to illumine the pathway of the oppressed and downtrodden throughout the world. I think he exemplified in his loyalty to country the words of a great writer, who said:

> Holy is my hearth;
> Holy will be to Thee my house.

His country was his hearthstone; it was his sacred house which was not to be defiled or destroyed. To him it was always holy; he desired that to all others it should be holy. When I think of Senator STONE I remember the words of another, who said:

> I do love my country's good with a respect more tender,
> More holy and profound, than my own life.

As stated, he believed in party organization, not for party victory or party achievement or success but to defeat what he regarded as un-American principles and to preserve the Nation. He knew that in a pure

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democracy or in a representative government—and, indeed, in all political structures—there are contending forces, those seeking liberty, freedom, progress; others fighting for stagnant or retrogressive conditions. He realized that any party too long in power, free from opposition or criticism, will become stagnant and finally reactionary and oppressive. Therefore he welcomed a strong and vigorous opposition party and believed that under our form of government the principles of liberty could be best preserved through the instrumentality of virile, puissant, political parties contending in the public arena for supremacy. However, believing political parties as the instrumentality to bring about good government, he regarded it as their sacred duty to stand for moral principles and for freedom and righteousness, accepting the view that the Constitution of these United States is a visible manifestation of God's providence to the world. He felt that political parties were corrupt and immoral if they sought mere party advantage or their course tended to the undermining of our Government.

Mr. President, I am profoundly convinced that this great man did not regard the Republic as a phantom or an evanescent form, but he believed that it would endure for the ages. He therefore consecrated his life to the preservation of the Republic and the principles of liberty for which it stands. He had a profound reverence for the fathers and the founders of the Republic and regarded political truths as sacred and immortal. He belonged to the school of political thought which believes that there are certain fundamental principles of truth and righteousness which constitute the foundation and structure of just governments, the same as there are immortal truths that are the basis of religion and of the spiritual life. He believed with Hamilton that " the sacred rights of man are not to be searched for in old documents and musty rec-

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ords. They are written as with the sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of divinity itself and can never be erased by mortal power."

Possessing these views, he sought the faith and teachings of the founders of the Republic and of his party for wisdom to guide him in his tempestuous, heroic, and intrepid career.

Mr. President, another striking characteristic of this great man was his sincerity. Carlyle, who philosophizes and teaches, declares that sincerity is the chief fact about a man. Sincere men, of course, are often wrong; but a sincere one, when right, is the safest of leaders. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has just alluded to the strong convictions which Senator STONE possessed and to the fact that when, after serious meditation and study, he had reached a conclusion, he was adamant. He followed his convictions to the end, regardless of consequences, and knowing at times full well that such a course would result in denunciation and the most violent opposition. The truth of this statement is exemplified in his attitude toward the war with Germany. Senator STONE believed that our Nation could avoid war with the central empires without detracting from its honor. Doubtless there were many reasons which combined to lead him to withhold support from the resolution which was the equivalent of a declaration of war against Germany. Perhaps his sympathy for the people—the wives and mothers who would lose husbands and sons—strongly influenced his determination to oppose entering the war. The daily reports of the sanguinary conflicts upon the fields of France and Belgium brought to him inexpressible sorrow. He grieved at the sufferings and sorrows that were overwhelming Europe and other parts of the world. He hoped that this Nation could avoid entering the bloody conflict, and that its position as the leading neutral Nation of the world would

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give it a moral power that could be exercised to pacify and heal the contending nations. He knew the horrors of war, the sorrows and the trials and the broken hearts and destroyed homes which it brings. "Unseen by the corporal eyes, but too clearly visible to the mind's eye, he could see the great army of the dead, the abandoned, the forgotten; the army of cruel tortures and prolonged infirmities, which pursues its fatal march behind what men so often call glory."

But, Mr. President, Senator STONE, as much as any living man, comprehended the aftermath of the war. He realized the stupendous problems which would arise when peace was declared. He could foresee the unrest and disorder, the unloosing of our social, religious, and other bonds, and the madness and chaos of the people. He looked with dread upon what the tide of war would bring to our own land and what its consequences would be with respect to our own institutions and our social structure. With prophetic eye he saw the picture which in part we now behold, and he dreaded the evils which now threaten the world. He felt that if we entered the war it might lead to an abandonment of the policies announced by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and the fathers who gave us the Republic. Perhaps some may say he was provincial, but he believed that this was the greatest Government of the world and that it should not be drawn into entangling alliances or into the great maelstrom of European nations. He wanted an American character; a great, powerful American Nation, independent of other nations, not chained or bound or limited by the political structures of other lands and climes. I remember speaking with him shortly before the declaration of war upon the part of this Government. He stated, in effect, that he was afraid of the future and the effects of the great tragedy being enacted in Europe; and then he

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added, "I want to keep this Republic as it was handed to us by the fathers." I remember that he referred to Washington and his position with respect to entangling alliances, and expressed the belief that if we entered the war it would result in a departure from what he regarded as the sound and safe policy for our country to pursue. He referred to several statements made by Washington, one of which was contained in a letter written by Washington to Patrick Henry. This morning I found the letter and from it copied the following extract:

> My ardent desire and my aim has been * * * to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, and to keep the United States free from political connection with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home, and not by becoming partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissension, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.

There can be no question, Mr. President, upon the part of those who knew Senator STONE but that his opposition to war was in part based upon his sincere conviction that war would bring sorrow and suffering to the American people and likewise jeopardize the Republic and endanger the welfare and prosperity of the American people. He was preeminently American. He loved his country and he idealized his State. His affection for the State of Missouri was really pathetic. He spoke the name "Missouri" with a love and an affection found in the voice of a mother for her child.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has just referred to Senator STONE's position on the war. Many of us differed from Senator STONE in his position taken upon this important question. We believed that the

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honor of our Nation, the defense of our Government and our people demanded that the United States should accept the condition of war which Germany had created, and that we should cast our fortunes with Great Britain and France and their gallant allies in hurling back the advancing hosts of the central powers, who sought the conquest of Europe, if not the world. But to Senator STONE war seemed a great and unnecessary tragedy. He visualized its horrors and with prophetic eye comprehended the evils which would follow when peace came. But when we had decided for war no one more vigorously supported the Nation, the President, and the cause than did he. Senators will remember the tense and dramatic situation when the resolution recognizing a state of war was under consideration in this body. Standing in the aisle of this Chamber, Senator STONE, with deep feeling and appealing earnestness, gave expression to his sentiments and voiced his view that if we entered into the war it would be "a colossal blunder." Then, in simple and eloquent terms, he stated his position as follows:

> But if the constituted powers of my Government, the powers constitutionally authorized to speak for the people on this momentous issue, shall decide for war, and we go into war, then I shall cast all doubts and forebodings to the winds, and my eyes thenceforth will be blind to everything but the flag of my country, borne by American boys through the storm of war, and my ears deaf to every call save that of my country in its hour of peril. If Congress unfurls the battle flag, however profound my sorrow, I will at once stand in salute to that flag, dutifully willing and ready to perform any service, to make any sacrifice necessary to bring the cause we espouse to a successful issue.

When the Nation spoke he saluted the flag and followed it and the brave and gallant American soldiers with a solicitude and devotion unsurpassed by anyone.

He cared but little for nonessentials, but was firm and unyielding when principles which he regarded as funda-

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mental were involved. Criticism from enemies did not affect him, but the criticism of friends grieved him to the heart; but neither criticism nor opposition from friend or from foe swerved him from the path which he conceived to be the path of duty. In thinking of him I am reminded of the words of Channing when he said:

> I call that mind free which protects itself against the usurpations of society, which does not cower to human opinion, which feels itself accountable to a higher tribunal than man's, which respects a higher law than fashion, which respects itself too much to be the slave or tool of the many or the few.

While not in agreement with him upon all views which he expressed or positions by him taken, I nevertheless respected his intellectual honesty, his mental integrity, and the motives and purposes by which he was guided.

Senator STONE was solicitous for the welfare of the people. He desired this Republic to lead the world, and the American people, by reason of their ideals, their achievements, their devotion to the cause of freedon, to be the evangels of a strong and enduring political faith. I recall his interest in all efforts to unify the polyglot population within the United States. Frequently he talked with me concerning the separatist movements which had prevented the amalgamation and absorption of the aliens who had come to this land. He was anxious for the adoption of some plan that would Americanize the alien in our midst and enable him to comprehend our form of government and the institutions under which we live. Deeply sympathetic with the masses who had sought industrial and political freedom under this flag, he regarded it as the duty of the States and the Nation to afford them full opportunity to enjoy the bounties of this land of opportunity, not only material bounties, but those finer spiritual and ethical ones which have blossomed, even if they have not come to fruition, under our institutions.

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I repeat, Mr. President, his thoughts were always for the people, for their welfare, for their prosperity, for his State and its progress and development, and for this Republic and its perpetuity. But his political views recognized that the prosperity of a nation depends upon the development of individual character and an adherence to those virtues which are the product of rational conception of the relations of the individual to the State. I think it can be stated of Senator STONE that his conceptions of what was essential to a vigorous and prosperous Commonwealth were in harmony with the words of Lecky when he declares that a nation is prosperous when and as long as—

> its foundation is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying. Observe especially what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the Nation men of whom in private life and irrespective of party competent judges speak with genuine respect? Are they of sincere convictions, consistent lives, indisputable integrity? * * * It is by observing this moral current that you can best cast the horoscope of a nation.

Mr. President, with other Senators I went to the State which our departed friend represented in this Chamber. I attended the simple but inspiring funeral services, where friends from far and near gathered to pay their final tribute of love and affection to one whom they had followed for so many years. A deep and profound religious fervor rested upon all, and the services portrayed the faith, that simple yet mystic and undying faith, which Senator STONE had in the life beyond and in the merciful eternal Father who guides men and nations.

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Perhaps he would have experienced some difficulty in his lifetime in defining his creed. He was not dogmatic, nor, indeed, could it be said of him that he was orthodox, and yet if we accept Kant's definition of religion it may truthfully be said that he was a religious man and exemplified his faith in his life. The philospher says—

> That religion consists in recognizing all our duties as divine commands.

Perhaps his religious creed might be summed up in these words:

> Religion is a belief in an everlasting God; that is, a divine mind and will, ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind.

Religion was not with him a metaphysical abstraction nor a scientific formula. He did not concern himself as to whether it was susceptible of scientific demonstration, but it was to him nevertheless something which was real and indispensable to man's welfare and social progress. It may sound paradoxical, yet I think it is true that even men of the greatest intellect and who demand the application of the strictest rules of logic and who accept many of what may be called the radical teachings of science deny the application of such principles when they come to deal with the spiritual forces and the religious faith which form so important a part in the life of men and which so powerfully determine the character and nature of human conduct. And thus it is that men have felt that "no form of belief is capable of functioning as a religion in the evolution of society which does not provide an ultrarational sanction for social conduct in the individual."

By some it is regarded as a phenomenon that with the remarkable utilitarian developments of the age and the

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marvelous results derived from applied science there should be profound faith in an Omnipotent and Omniscient Being to whom man is accountable and from whom it is contended springs spiritual and moral forces for man's advancement. And the astonishment becomes greater upon the part of the extreme materialist when he witnesses the great number who accept the evolutionary principles preached with such fervor and enthusiasm by Darwin, Hackle, and Wallace, who gave the contributions of their mighty genius to the world. But no hypothesis or alleged demonstrable scientific truth, no rationalistic creed or comprehended or uncomprehended system of philosophy has driven from the human heart the longings for immortality, the faith in the power and the mercy and the goodness and the justice of an Everlasting and Eternal Father. This faith or belief, whatever it may be denominated, is not so much concerned as to whether it is logical or rational or conformable to scientific formulæ. Even if conceded to be ultrarational and incapable of being defended by acknowledged canons governing the intellectual and scientific mind, it insists, however, that the great motive power which has propelled humanity forward has been the ineradicable faith in an Eternal and Merciful Father, which, in all ages, has glorified the human soul.

He believed in God, the Eternal Father; he believed in Christ, the Saviour of mankind. His faith was perhaps not the result of intellectual effort or the analytical processes of his mind. I do not think he attempted to defend it upon the ground that it had a rational sanction, but, nevertheless, it was a living, vital thing, commanding obedience to the laws of righteousness, devotion to the Everlasting Father, and sacrifice and service—the true

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expression of the Christian life. I think he would have said of himself, as was written by another:

> What am I? Naught.
> Nothing! yet the effluence of Thy light divine,
> Pervading worlds, hath reached my bosom, too;
> Yes, in my spirit doth Thy spirit shine,
> As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew,
> Naught! but I live, and on hope's pinions fly
> Eager toward Thy presence; for in Thee
> I live, and breathe, and dwell, aspiring high,
> Even to the throne of Thy Divinity.

Mr. President, we regret the loss of our departed friend; the Nation needed him, his State needed him, his party needed and still needs him. In this hour with the stupendous problems confronting not only this Nation but the world; problems made and forced upon us by the devastating war through which the world has just passed, his services would have been of inestimable value, and his loss becomes more apparent. God bless his memory. May we profit by the illustrious example which he has left for our guidance.

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Address of Mr. Fletcher, of Florida

Mr. President: Within the borders of Kentucky there have been born into the world many individuals who have lived exemplary and useful lives; many who have served their fellow men in marked degree and their country heroically, as a whole; many who have met the responsibilities of citizenship and have discharged faithfully the duties of public office; many who have traveled the road to fame and at its end passed to the other life respected, loved, and honored. Among these distinguished sons, whose labors and services were performed in large part beyond the boundaries of their native State, Kentucky can proudly claim William Joel Stone, who was born in Madison County, May 7, 1848. He was educated at Missouri University, which later conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

When he was 21 years of age he was admitted to the bar and four years thereafter he was elected prosecuting attorney for Vernon County, Mo.

His mental capacity and physical energy pushed him into wider fields. He had a taste for politics and became a student of public affairs. His rare tact, genial disposition, clear vision, sound judgment, and patriotic impulses made him a power in the sphere of political activities.

He was elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses. In 1893 he became governor of Missouri and gave the State four years of signal service as its executive.

As a member of the Democratic national committee, 1896–1904, and as its vice chairman in 1900–1904, his wise counsel, untiring zeal, and devotion to the cause were felt and appreciated. He displayed throughout his career extraordinary ability as an organizer and his skill and tact were equally effective in management. He was elected to

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the United States Senate to succeed Hon. George Graham Vest for the term beginning March 4, 1903, reelected in 1909, and by popular vote in 1914 for the term beginning March 4, 1915. On April 14, 1918, he departed this life.

He had a trained mind of unusual capacity and strength. He possessed a gentle disposition, which drew men to him in bonds of attachment, lasting and strong.

He was patient, and at the same time aggressive and courageous in dealing with great questions and in debate.

He possessed in eminent degree the elements of leadership. His public service extended along two lines—executive and legislative. He was equally well equipped and efficient in both. The qualities of mind and heart manifested in these functions, reinforced by broad reading and study and thought, found expression in the field of statesmanship.

On the great committees of the Senate he was vigilant and untiring. In debate, on this floor, he was equal to any undertaking, and with a grace and an eloquence and power unsurpassed he handled his subjects in the fashion of a master.

Particularly on Finance and Foreign Relations, the chairmanship of which latter committee he graced, his services were most effective. His manner and characteristics were original and peculiar to himself. An attractive personality, a wholesome sense of humor, and dignity of bearing, combined with expressive eyes and features that beamed with intelligence, assured him a warm greeting in any assembly, whether it meant social intercourse or a relentless encounter with opposing forces in some momentous struggle. He exemplified Edwin Markham's "Preparedness:"

> For all of your days prepare
> And meet them all alike;
> When you are the anvil, bear—
> When you are the hammer, strike.

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Felicity of expression, wealth of information, charm of delivery, and fine presence made us recognize in him the magnetic, skillful orator.

He seemed to treasure no animosities. He was generous in his consideration of others, patient and forbearing toward those who opposed him, gentle and kind toward his associates, and unstinted in his love of those who had claims upon his affections.

Times came when he had to decide upon a definite course and the road ahead was not plain and clear. So far as I know, he seldom advised with others or consulted his closest friends, but he stepped aside with his own conscience and judgment and adopted the course they dictated.

I may illustrate this best by quoting his own words. In the course of debate, February 3, 1915, on the shipping bill, which he strongly supported, he said:

> I have found out that whenever a man is opposed to a measure he becomes very sure that the people are against it; or, if he is for it, he is bold to assert that the people are for it; but I do not think that men who assume so much know anything more about the wishes of the people than I do.
>
> The only way I have of knowing what the people want is to make up my mind as to what is best for the country, feeling confident the people will approve if I am not mistaken.

He ardently hoped his country would not become involved in the catastrophe which shook the world in 1914. He saw clearly what war meant—the loss of young men, a kind of loss which any nation can ill afford to suffer at any time; the destruction of property; the burdens of taxation upon the people, loomed with all their terrors before him. He hoped there might be some honorable way of avoiding the calamities and suffering which war involved, even when it was plain that the war lord and military clique of Germany had deliberately proceeded to "Pour the

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sweet milk of concord into hell; uproar the universal peace, and confound all unity on earth."

But when the decision was reached that there was no escape for his country, and its duty was to rally its defenders of liberty and champions of civilization, and there was no choice but to meet force with force to the limit, he patriotically joined in the effort and supported with his great ability and unflagging energy and wise counsel every measure and step intended to make victory certain.

He stated his position with his usual frankness and sincerity on July 14, 1917, during the debate on the food-control bill, H. R. 4961, as follows:

> You know, Mr. President, as every Senator and the country knows, I was absolutely opposed to plunging this country into this foreign, far-away European war. * * * I warned you and the country then that if we insisted upon this course we would open a Pandora's box, the multiplying evils of which no man was wise enough to forecast. * * * But from the beginning I have stated over and over again that while I looked with horror upon the proposal to involve this country in this foreign war, I would nevertheless loyally accept the joint judgment of the Congress and the President if they should, acting together, declare for war; and from that day forth I have stood steadfastly in support of the dominating forces of the Government which declared that war was necessary. That is the position I took at the start, and I shall abide by it. * * * I shall support the President and the Government in organizing our national resources and in using them to the utmost of our strength.

It was a sad day last April when we realized that he would be with us here no more. A personal affliction had fallen upon each of us; a real deprivation of the help we needed; a misfortune to the country he loved.

Until our friends go, never to return, we fail to realize how dear they are to us. We are left, however, with the consolation that memory keeps them ever with us, and in the quiet hours we can almost feel "the touch of the van-

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ished hand" and hear "the sound of the voice that is still."

I believe I would not misjudge him if I made the estimate I venture to condense. He conceived true liberty to mean the privilege of doing "unmolested what the law allows."

And that real democracy means "organized self-control."

And that his conviction was that "out of the heart are the issues of life."

A deep and abiding love of country and a steadfast Americanism were the very lifeblood of his strong character.

Hear him from his conspicuous place on this floor, February 8, 1915:

> I am for America—our America—above all the world. The kind of men we need now and always need are men who stand uncompromisingly for America and American rights. * * * I care little for the opinions of American citizens who are not first and always really, truly, bravely American.

In the public service for nearly 50 years, to his country and his country's cause he gave himself—justifying the application of Paul's tribute to the Macedonian church: "They first gave themselves."

The words of Addison's Cato can well be applied to our friend:

> 'Tis not in mortals to command success;
> But we'll do more, Sempronious—we'll deserve it.

And by his character and life he established such a relation between the soul and the Soul Maker that he was prepared when the summons came to pass into the undiscovered future without dread.

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Address of Mr. Myers, of Montana

Mr. President: It was my good fortune the greater part of my life to know Hon. William Joel Stone, and during all of my life, from childhood, I heard and knew very much of him and about him. It was my good fortune to be born and to grow to manhood in the State to which Senator Stone rendered unusual service and brought signal distinction, the State of Missouri. We had very close mutual ties. There were those who were related to me who were among his lifelong supporters, ardent admirers, and close associates, and who were ever very loyal to him and who actively and earnestly supported him in every political contest in which he ever engaged which involved more territory than the county of his residence; effectively supported him in every political contest after he had ably filled the office of prosecuting attorney of his county and had branched out into a larger field of political activity. For years the name of Senator Stone was a household word in my father's family. As boy and young man in Missouri, I often heard him on the stump and delighted to hear him expound democracy. His fearlessness and earnestness charmed me.

I remember when, as a young man, he was first nominated for and elected to Congress, I being then a boy. When he was first nominated for Representative in Congress I heard it said that he had a brilliant future and that he would make his mark as one of the ablest public men Missouri had ever possessed. He was then in the prime of vigorous young manhood and had already attracted to himself and drawn in his train an ardent and enthusiastic band of loyal, devoted personal and political followers who never abandoned him but who stayed with him, faithful and true, through every political contest of

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his life. When first nominated for Representative in Congress he had acquired a reputation as an orator, student, and statesman which bespoke for him a brilliant career. He was then the pride of those who followed his plume in the arena of political combat.

When Senator STONE was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of Missouri I was a voter and resident of that State and I supported him for the nomination and at the election. I voted for him in the primary and at the general election. He was my choice. By that time I knew him personally and was an ardent admirer of him, as man and statesman; admired his ability, fearlessness, democracy, devotion to principle, and leadership; and admired him for all those qualities which made him a renowned leader of men and valued champion of democracy.

In those days and for many years Senator STONE was the idol of Missouri Democrats. He had their admiration, love, and adoration. They trusted in him and looked up to him. They looked to him for leadership. The mantle of the renowned and departed Hon. George G. Vest as leader of the Democrats of Missouri fell upon Senator STONE. He was almost worshiped by his followers.

Senator STONE had the remarkable faculty of drawing to him great numbers of enthusiastic, devoted followers, and of grappling to him with hooks of steel a great many very devoted and unswerving personal and political friends. He was a man of magnetic personality. As a rule, his friends stayed with him. In that respect he was signally marked as a leader of men.

When I entered the United States Senate Senator STONE had been a distinguished Member of this body for quite a number of years and had a national reputation. I was received by him with the greatest kindness. He welcomed my entrance into the Senate with marked warmth and

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cordiality, and when I was new here he showed me many acts of kindness and consideration. He did very much to make it pleasant and agreeable for me here. Our personal relations were always of the most cordial and agreeable character. During my service here, until the demise of Senator STONE, I was fortunate in seeing a good deal of him and enjoyed personal association with him to a considerable degree. I often consulted him. Our relations were fairly intimate, and I enjoyed my association with him. At times I very sharply differed with him about matters of public policy and national welfare, but that never disturbed our uniformly pleasant relations nor my friendly regard for him.

I always admired Senator STONE's intense devotion to his political party and its principles. Politically he was an intense partisan, and I always admired him for it. He was a Democrat because he believed with great intensity and fervor in the principles of the Democratic Party, and he adhered to them, championed them, and supported them on all occasions with an earnestness, enthusiasm, and devotion which drew my strongest admiration. He believed implicitly in the virtue of his party and never hesitated to array himself on its side as a devoted partisan. His intense fidelity to party principle was, to my mind, most admirable. He was more partisan, I admit, than I, but I esteemed him for it.

Senator STONE was a hard fighter. He never slackened nor wavered in fighting for what he believed to be right. He was an incessant fighter for the principles of his party, believing them to be the true principles of government for a self-governing people. Believing the success of his party meant the good and welfare of all the people, he fought for the success of his party in season and out of season. There was never any doubt about where to place him in party matters. This I considered a most com-

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mendable trait, for he stood for that which he firmly believed to be right and best.

Senator STONE was one of the bravest men whom I ever knew; brave mentally, morally, and physically. Absolutely, he did not seem to know what fear was in any sense of the word. He would defy anything or anybody if he thought he was in the right. His fearlessness was one of his distinguishing traits all of his life, and it had much to do with drawing to him that devoted band of followers and supporters, always back of him and standing with him, ever faithful and loyal.

Senator STONE rendered distinguished service to his State and Nation. He was one of Missouri's foremost characters, one of the Nation's great men. He accomplished much and leaves much good work behind him. To his family he leaves a splendid heritage, to his host of devoted friends a fond memory, to his State a career of usefulness, to his country nation-wide fame. He had some great qualities. As statesman, student, scholar, publicist, he had real ability and great accomplishments.

Senator STONE was an outspoken man. He never hesitated to speak out what was in him. It was a matter of comfort to many of his friends, of whom I counted myself one, that in his last illness he professed faith in and reliance upon the saving grace of his Redeemer and looked forward to eternal life with his Maker. Farewell to him, but not to his memory. I take this occasion to discharge a sad duty, to exercise an estimable privilege in paying an humble tribute to his worth and testifying to the pleasant relations that always existed between us. May it be well with his soul.

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Address of Mr. Smith, of Georgia

Mr. President: All who knew Senator Stone will appreciate the splendid tributes that have been paid here to-day to his worth, because they will realize that the tributes were deserved.

The entire Nation recognized his great ability. The Senate realized his power upon the floor of this Chamber, his brilliancy and his logic.

Those who served with him in committees found him there tireless, painstaking, and wise. For nearly six years I served with him on the Finance Committee, the detailed labors of which are great. No item of revenue bills escaped his scrutiny, and at all times it was his earnest desire to let the tax burdens fall where they could be borne with the least trial; at all times it was his thought to see how the less fortunate in life might have their burdens lightened rather than increased.

I had the privilege for several years of rooming just across the hall from him in the Senate Office Building, and I frequently saw him. If I were asked from my personal association with him to name his two most controlling characteristics I would say, in addition to his mental power, that they were his courage and his love. I do not believe Senator Stone knew what fear was; he was unconscious of physical fear, and he had no fear of consequences to himself as a result of his conduct. He was moved always with the earnest purpose of determining what he ought to do, controlled by his judgment, led by his love. If ever swayed from his mental judgment it was by his love.

He loved Missouri and he loved all the people of Missouri. He loved his country and he loved the people of his country. He loved his immediate family with a ten-

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derness and gentleness that would have adorned the character of a woman. He was checked at times in his mental action by his love and by his unwillingness to cause sorrow or distress to those whom he loved.

Senator STONE was honest to an extreme degree. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has referred to the fact that he made sacrifices for his public service. He could have been a man with great income at the bar, but he gave his time to the public service rather than to the accumulation of worldly goods for himself; and in all of his long career in the public service never a time did he think of a place where he might make something financially for himself. The subject of financial gain for himself never touched his life.

Mr. President, I feel excused for mentioning a little incident that touched me very much, which occurred when I was riding out home with him within about 12 months of his death. We lived in the same section of this city, and frequently he rode out with me in my machine or I rode out with him in his. One evening, as we were riding home, with a glow of delight all over his face, he pulled a little piece of paper out of his pocket and said, "This is a receipt for the premium on my life insurance policy." He put it back in his pocket and called the name of his wife, whom he loved so tenderly, and said: "The reason I am so pleased that I have paid it is that it makes me know she will have this sum if I am called away. While I am here I can provide for her, but this gives her something if I am called." The amount was not very large, but it was pathetic to hear this man of powerful intellect, who could have done so much for himself in a financial way and for his family if he had turned his thoughts and talents in such a direction, filled with joy that this conservative-sized policy was to guarantee to the partner of

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his trials and his joys some little comfort when he was gone.

I saw Senator STONE a number of times when he was taking the course which was perhaps the greatest trial of his life. I had known for 12 months before that period how earnestly he desired that his country might escape from embroilment in the European slaughterhouse. When the time came that most of us felt we could remain out of the war no longer, when the overwhelming sentiment of the country justified the action that brought us into the war with the German Empire, I talked freely with Senator STONE and urged him to vote with us. I pressed it on him; I tried to show him that it was his duty to himself and to his associates. I knew perfectly what controlled him. He talked with freedom about it. Up to the last I plead with him. He simply said: "I see what it means—billions of debts burdened upon the people whom I love; and, worse than that, perhaps millions of our boys lost in France. We can not go into this war without really going into it." He continued: "If I could give my life and have the sacrifice end there, I would not hesitate a moment; but it is all these sons of mothers throughout the land. I can not but feel that something can be done to save these mothers' sons."

It was his love for his people. If he could have laid down his own life he would have done so without a moment's hesitation, but it was the lives of others and the sorrow that was to be produced that caused him to take the position which he did. But the moment the decision was made and the war was begun, on every possible occasion he stood in his place in the Senate and supported his country in every possible way. Others cast the die; it had to be; then all that he could do to help to whip the enemy and win the war he gave with entire freedom and

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thoroughness. That he should have been criticized was natural; that he would be criticized he knew; none understood it better than he; but it never moved him a particle. That vote was controlled by his intense love for his people, whom he would have spared, if he could, the trials of war.

He was a great man; a great intellect; but, again I say, the two controlling powers of his life were his courage and his love.

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Address of Mr. Bankhead, of Alabama

Mr. President: When I came to Washington as a Member of the Fiftieth Congress one of my first acquaintances was William Joel Stone, who had served in the Forty-ninth Congress. This acquaintanceship ripened quickly into a friendship of such enduring qualities as to weather and overcome the vicissitudes of a long life.

When Mr. Stone resigned his seat in the House of Representatives to accept the governorship of the great State of Missouri I was enabled, through a continuous correspondence, to keep in the most intimate touch with him. When, as the successor of the great George Vest, Gov. Stone returned to Washington and took his place in the Senate our daily personal relationship, after an interregnum of only a few years, was resumed. Later, as successor to John Tyler Morgan, whom all Alabamians are wont to call "our greatest," and who with dignity and rare wisdom for so many years graced this Chamber, I entered upon a service in the Senate. From that moment until death placed its icy fingers on his heart I was in closest, most intimate association with the man of whom to-day we speak.

As a result of this long and unvarying friendship I can qualify as a witness who knew him well; and as such it is not so much my function to recite the biographical and chronological events and incidents of what was truly a great career as to bespeak very briefly and very generally the real merits of a mind and soul which so incontrovertibly affected the destiny of our country.

It is my conclusion, expressed not with the temperamental consideration with which one regards the dead, but in solemn, stern sincerity, that Stone was one of those mortals in whom the elements so mixed as to produce a

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great man. His gift for adroit leadership came of a keen and discriminating intellect, radiating in his speech and action the resiliency of a remarkable mind, and of a deep-seated, ever-abiding vision which gave him uncanny prescience of how the operations of to-day would affect the destiny of to-morrow. And thus it has happened that less ably equipped men have declared in one instant that STONE by a speech or a subtle move on the political checkerboard had wrecked the entire fabric of things; in the next, with the full light of successful issue glowing, they have acclaimed him a strategist of the most excellent talent.

As a rival manager of a presidential aspirant in the Baltimore convention of 1912 I was constantly aware of the subtle genius of Senator STONE—a genius which but for unexpected and unparalleled defection in his own ranks would have carved out a notable victory. But when one weighs the relative merits of mind and heart, that genius can not be compared to that fidelity to trust, that allegiance to duty, which prompted him to submerge and subdue his own great disappointment and assume the post of confidential leadership in the victor's administration. For four years, with unvarying faith, he piloted the President's legislation through this body, and at the end of that time he was found preparing a platform of such appealing parts that the people of the Nation, won by the spirit of humanity it breathed, were happily induced to give the President a second term.

Senator STONE, being a man of purpose, was necessarily a man of opinion. As such at certain intervals he found it necessary to think and act for himself. Nothing so aptly indicates the sincerity of a man as, when driven by honest purpose, he leaves the primrose path of least resistance and, bereft of former friends, trudges the rocky road of conviction. And yet such is perverse nature that

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it is against this very type of man that the world, forgetful of past service and the certainty of honest differences, turns and inveighs with scorn and contumely.

Senator STONE in the very twilight of his long service shared this common fate. When he declined to lead the fight for the so-called "armed neutrality" bill he was made the target for the darts of learned critics bursting with the force of their own erudition—innumerable darts tipped with the venom of ridicule, abuse, and slander. And yet, while the storm raged, we who knew STONE and who differed with him knew also that according to his conviction he was right, and that, irrespective of the fate prepared, he could have pursued no other course with honor to himself.

For my part, I know that he had reached his conclusion after long contemplation; that he took the unpopular side when on the other great prestige might easily have been gained only because of honest and sincere conviction that the unpopular side was in that emergency the side of right and justice. And, Mr. President, permit me in this day, when the passion of that day has subsided, solemnly to express the opinion that much of that bitter criticism directed at Senator STONE was unjust, unkind, and even cruel. And from knowledge of the man I bring testimony that that serenity of countenance—misinterpreted as indifference—which distinguished him in that trying moment was nothing more or less than a manifestation of a resignation which perfectly concealed an inward and permanent hurt.

He was as some grim stone of the sea on whose surface a raging tempest made impress, but whose base it could not cause to tremble or its parts to disintegrate.

Mr. President, I am very grateful to a Providence which has made it possible for me thus to speak of my friend, who has gone into that peace which surpasses understanding.

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Address of Mr. Thomas, of Colorado

Mr. President: For five and twenty years my relations with William Joel Stone were close and cordial. We were intimate and affectionate friends. He was governor of the great State of Missouri when I first met him. Grover Cleveland had just entered upon his second presidential term. Economic and financial conditions were sinister and the atmosphere was heavy with portents of an approaching financial earthquake. And the President's well-known disapproval of his party's sentiments, emphasized by his aloofness from the influence and cooperation of its leaders and statesmen, justified their apprehension of an impending political cataclysm.

The crisis came in June with the closure of the Indian mints to the coinage of the silver rupee. Within a very few days thereafter Gov. Stone delivered a masterly address upon the situation. It clearly analyzed the causes and foretold the consequences of the panic should these causes be ignored or misunderstood and the remedies they plainly outlined be rejected. His message to the people was that of a clear-visioned, farseeing statesman. They hailed it as the voice of a skilled navigator to the pilot, counseling a course that would rob the storm of its perils and lay the Nation to its ancient ways. But the hopes of the people were turned to ashes of disappointment, and the voice of Stone became as that of one crying in the wilderness. The storm descended; the commander pursued his stubborn, unyielding course, and overwhelmed his country in measureless disaster.

I met Gov. Stone very shortly after this incident, and hastened to express my gratitude for what I conceived to be an incalculable service to the public. He was then seriously concerned for the immediate future, a concern

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that was for the country. I early discovered what many of his countrymen questioned in after years, that Gov. STONE was a patriot in the highest and best sense of that much-abused and frequently misunderstood term. He was a radical and uncompromising partisan, but his country, her welfare, her interests, as he understood them, was the influence which above all others commanded his affection and inspired his conduct. His view of service, of her policy, her interest, and her duty might subject him to reproach and obloquy, but they were the fruit of his anxious and deliberate reflective judgment. They might be wrong, but they were his, and he maintained them with all the vigor of courageous conviction. Abuse and misunderstanding might subject him to the denunciation of popular clamor and the rebuke of statesmen, cajolery and persuasion might join with threat and vituperation to force his reluctant hand, but he would bear them all with serene fortitude and with the confidence of certain, though tardy, approval. Failing that, he could go his way unto the end, though he might travel barefooted and alone.

I shall not review the long record of Senator STONE's public service. Others have done that and done it well. It was a full and an honorable one—not perfect, for that is never humanly possible. He made mistakes, and they were broad ones, in keeping with his nature and breadth of vision. They were not the result of impulse, but of earnest and continued reflection.

His view of America's attitude toward the great war was in the first half of its bloody course unquestionably that of the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, who shrank from the ordeal of a world conflict with all the intensity of an enlightened peace-loving people. Nothing save Germany's insensate disregard for neutrals and neutral rights, exemplified many times in acts of

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apalling horror and unmindful of repeated warnings, could have involved us.

The crisis finally came with her resumption of indiscriminate submarine warfare, followed by the President's request for authority to arm our merchant ships for defense against this deadly form of national piracy. Senator STONE was opposed to granting the desired authority. He felt that the allies had transgressed our rights as a neutral power quite as frequently and as flagrantly as had Germany, and that the proposed measure would precipitate a war which might yet be avoided without dishonor. No request for additional authority to deal with the allied invasions of our sovereignty had been made and none should be granted in the pending instance. He therefore protested and spoke against the joint resolution clothing the Executive with the desired power. The two situations were, to my mind, fundamentally different. He did not think so, and he gave his reasons at length to the Senate at a time when the Congress was rapidly nearing its close. For this he was unsparingly denounced by a vigorous and vindictive chorus of disapproval, whose echoes had not ceased when he passed away. He was accused of filibustering against the resolution. The fact that he spoke against it for nearly three hours, and that the Congress expired before a vote could be reached, gave strong color to the charge. Yet, knowing Senator STONE so well, I feel justified in saying, as I said many times while he was living, that he had no such purpose. He felt bound to give his reasons for his position, and, as he always did on occasions of unusual importance, he prepared himself thoroughly and in writing. He was very deliberate in speech; at times painfully so. Except on rare occasions of great excitement, he never hurried. Such a man always requires time for delivery. And Senator STONE, without a thought of the fleeting moments and the rapid

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approach of the fateful 4th of March, pursued his usual way. It was unfortunate, since the public condemnation was somewhat justified and, protests to the contrary, unavailing.

But he made no protest. He bore the consequences and met the storm without flinching. Consistently with his view, he cast his vote in the following April against the declaration of a state of war with Germany. The friends who knew him well deplored the fact, while expecting nothing else from a man who seldom changed his convictions once they were fully formed. While I regretted the Senator's dissenting vote, I could, from my own experiences of the Civil War, understand his point of view.

During that conflict we were both boys living in the South, and face to face with all its seamy sides. We knew what war meant. We had been made rudely and daily familiar with its carnage, its waste, its terror, and its destruction. We could recall the long lists of casualties; the endless processions of the dead; the hordes of armless, legless, blind, and mutilated survivors of the battle fields; the black badge of universal mourning; the agony of widowed hearts and the tears of orphaned children. We could visualize the returning skeletons of want and hunger, the destruction of cities, the laying waste of the country and the pillage of the harvests, the hordes of refugees fleeing from the pathway of advancing armies, the thunder of the guns, and the shouting. I knew that he shrank with horror from the reinfliction of war's curse upon his country, and I would have given my life willingly on that fateful 6th of April, did the sacrifice avail, to spare the Nation the agony of another war. But it had to come. We could neither stay nor avoid it. The progress of the world had garnered its seeds within her bosom. They were to germinate, to ripen, and be harvested, even as others now dimly

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perceived shall grow and be garnered in the fullness of time.

War having been declared, Senator STONE accepted the cast of the die and gave the Government his constant and unfailing support. He voted supplies and men, contributed of his modest substance to war loans, and devoted all his energies while he lived to its vigorous and successful prosecution. He died when the great German offensive of last spring had reached its farthest advance, when Paris laid almost at the Kaiser's feet, and Haig's indomitable Britons, with their backs to the wall, were slowly yielding to his terrific onset for the Channel ports. The allied reverses of the month preceding his death wrung his heart and filled his mind with anxious forebodings. Doubtless the strain they imposed upon his weakened energies was a contributing cause to his sudden death.

Senator STONE was one of the most powerful intellects of his generation, one of the strongest men who ever occupied a seat in this body. His slow and deliberate speech was in direct contrast to the rapidity of his mental processes. He saw all sides of every problem and, with rare powers of analysis, would quickly resolve it into its most prominent elements. He was a competent judge of men. He was a born political strategist, a debater of the highest order, and one of the most eloquent of men. His voice was clear and penetrating, his words well chosen, his diction perfect. But he was at his best only when absorbed by the ardor of conflict. His talent for controversial discussion needed the stimulus of active, if not extreme, opposition. When thoroughly aroused all his faculties were enlisted, and well he knew how and where to direct them. It was no surprise to those who knew him well that as a candidate soliciting the support of his people he never had been beaten.

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The convention of 1896 blazed a new pathway for the Democratic Party. Rightly or wrongly, it wrote a declaration of principles whose advocacy meant aggression. It was no longer defensive or apologetic. That it would rend the party asunder was inevitable. That it would be immediately successful was only possible. That it committed the party to a new and radical propaganda, which it must thereafter acknowledge whether it would or no, was beyond question.

Gov. STONE was the chairman of the Missouri delegation to that convention, charged with the duty of securing the nomination of the Hon. Richard P. Bland for the Presidency. He did not accomplish that, for the unexpected happened; but he did more to shape the course and mold the proceedings of that great convention than any other member of it. If Bryan was its apotheosis, STONE was its soul incarnate. His influence was in the very atmosphere of the committees through which its course was directed. Yet there was no assumption of leadership, no assertion of authority, no contentious wrangling for position. Quietly, constantly, persuasively, and effectively he moved past obstacles, overcame difficulties, compromised differences, and suppressed resentments. It was a turbulent assemblage, where passion flamed high and opposition countered hard upon every subject involved in its deliberations, where crimination and recrimination thrust and parried from its commencement to its close. Through the maze of its bitter contentions and animosities the hand of Gov. STONE guided the majority safely and steadily to its goal of ultimate accomplishment. As one of his modest aids on that historic occasion, I here pay my tribute to his consummate powers of leadership and organization. A noted public man before, he now became a national figure and so remained until his death.

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Had he devoted himself to his profession Senator STONE would have been a great lawyer. A mind lured by the attractions of material success would have chosen the bar instead of the forum. But he was indifferent to the enticements of fortune. He died a poor man. That was once the signal distinction of a public official. It is still a most honorable one when the official begins his career without fortune. He lived well and modestly, content with the companionship of wife and children, whom he loved and who loved him in turn. His domestic life was singularly felicitous. Within the charmed circle of his home, companioned by a wife the gentleness and refinement of whose character shone through her countenance with the soft radiance of a spiritual beauty which time's effacing fingers can never destroy, and blessed with the affection of their children, he found all the joys that a resentful world would have denied him. His heart, his affections, his hopes, and his fears were centered at his hearthstone. He has gone, but the record of what he did and what he was remains. By that he will be judged, and judged correctly, when the excitements of a world conflict shall have subsided and passion no longer warps or obscures the opinions, when men, clear visioned and deliberate, can with impartial justice review events and careers in the far perspective of receding years.

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Address of Mr. Gore, of Oklahoma

Mr. President: It is not my intention to discuss the life or to detail the public services of our distinguished and lamented colleague. That labor of love has been done by those who knew him longer than it was either my privilege or my pleasure to know him.

I desire to pay a word of tribute to one or two of his most distinguishing virtues and to call attention to one or two of the most distinguishing traits of his character. In what I shall say I do not mean to institute any comparison between physical and moral courage. Each has its value, but they have such different standards of value that no true comparison can be drawn. Physical courage is the more common and may therefore be regarded as the more elemental. Moral courage is the less common, but it can not be regarded as the less admirable virtue.

Physical courage is all but universal in the kingdom of animal life. It is one of the commonest traits that flesh is heir to. We can almost discern traces of physical bravery in the protoplasm, in the stuff that life is made of. We can mark it alike in the cell as well as in the conquering hero. The microscope reveals deeds of desperate daring even among the denizens of the dewdrop. Physical courage is exhibited among the embattled ants. It is exhibited by the tigress of the jungle as she prowls for prey. It is displayed by the timorous bird as she defends her nestlings with her life. It was exhibited by the dragons of the prime as they tore each other in their slime. The lion of the desert may be as indifferent to danger and as insensible to fear as a Richard of the Lion Heart.

Physical bravery springs from instinct rather than reason. Indeed, it comes from elemental instinct. It is the essence out of which comes the first law of nature.

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To our finite vision it does not seem to be at all times scrupulous as to the character of its cause.

We love to believe that "he is thrice armed who hath his quarrel just," and yet by our standard no quarrel is so unjust that may not find champions and defenders willing to sacrifice their lives. This was ever so. We find the savage of the forest quite as willing to die in battle as the phalanx of Greece or the legions of Rome.

Upon the battle field of Chalons the Europeans and the Asiatics joined issue as to which race should control the destinies of western Europe. The Hun and the European died with equal desperation. Upon the bloody field of Tours the Christian and the Mohammedan submitted their issue to the wager of battle. There they determined which religion should prevail over the future destinies of western Europe; the followers of the Cross and the followers of the Crescent fought and fell with equal devotion.

In the wilderness of this western world men of English blood laid down their lives to vindicate the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. On the other hand, men of English blood laid down their lives to prevent the establishment of this free, this self-governing Republic.

I say this to prove that every cause may find its champions. I repeat that the despot has been able to find followers who would sacrifice their lives to perpetuate their own chains.

In vindicating the principles of freedom our fathers laid down their lives in the noblest cause that can challenge the sacrifices of human nature. The principles typified by the Stars and Stripes have never called in vain for champions or defenders. Those principles will never call in vain for champions or defenders so long as valor is esteemed a virtue and so long as heroism is honored among the sons of men. In defense of these principles the

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undying dead have sought for death, as the bridegroom seeks his bride, and yet with equal alacrity the followers and the minions of tyranny gone to their graves to establish or to perpetuate the reign of the tyrant, the sway of the despot, and the dominion of the autocrat. This is not strange. This is no mystery.

I repeat that physical bravery springs out of elemental instinct. It is one of the conditions of existence. It is the condition of survival. All existing generations of every existing species is the survival of long uncounted centuries of strife and struggle. These are the survivors. They are those who have passed through the crucible of unmitigated strife. In the supreme test the weakling, the coward, the parasite, as a rule, has perished by the wayside. This is the law of the Yukon—that only the strong shall thrive, that surely the weak shall perish, and only the fit survive. This at least was the law of the earlier ages of strife and of combat.

This law may have been in some measure modified by the improving principles of humanity and of civilization, and yet its reminiscences are seen repeated in the history of the race.

Moral courage is one of the rarest, one of the finest, I may say one of the divinest, attributes of God's image upon earth. Physical courage characterizes both "man and bird and beast." In its earlier stages it obeys necessity or responds to desire. It does not always, even in its later stages, distinguish between "the worse and the better cause." Moral courage characterizes rational beings alone, but, unfortunately, even among these it is not universal. It distinguishes between right and wrong and never wittingly prefers the worse to the better cause. Moral courage obeys the still small voice of conscience for conscience' sake. Moral courage obeys the behest of duty

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for duty's sake. Moral courage is alike indifferent to the hiss of the rabble and the applause of the multitude.

Physical courage may find reenforcement in the psychology of the crowd, in the psychology of the mob, but moral courage would rather be right than popular. Moral courage will not consent to be wrong in order to purchase a cheap and transient popularity. Moral courage is indifferent alike to the hisses of the mob and to the threats and the frowns of the mighty. Moral courage is indifferent to the temptations and to the blandishments of power. Moral courage never seeks the line of no resistance; moral courage never seeks the line of least resistance. Moral courage goes where the voice of duty commands.

Whatever be your faith, let me cite a crucial and historic instance. Peter denied his Master once, twice, and thrice before the crowing of the cock. He denied his Master rather than submit himself to the jeers of the accusing crowd. He declared that he never knew the Man. On the other hand, his Master accepted without complaint the agonies alike of Gethsemane and of Calvary. History has pronounced judgment upon these exhibitions of moral courage. It must always be the temper and must often be the fate of moral courage to drink the hemlock and to wear the crown of thorns. Indeed, sir, I do not know but that the crown of thorns is the official diadem of moral heroism.

There were many ties which bound me to our late and lamented friend and which bind me to cherish his memory. I use the word "friend" in the highest sense of that most sacred term. He knew both the art and the philosophy of friendship, which was to prove himself a friend. His followers loved him for his undoubted and undeviating fidelity. His antagonists honored him for his undaunted and undeviating chivalry.

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I admired his talents and I honored his public services. He was a practical man; he was a practical statesman. He never lost sight of the elementary needs of men, yet he never forgot the elementary rights of free men. To preserve and perpetuate those rights he was equal to the supremest sacrifice, even to the transient sacrifice of his fair name among those who for the moment misunderstood.

"Without turning," he always stood for freedom of thought. He always stood for freedom of speech. He always stood for the freedom of the press—a freedom which was used, which was abused, by some to misrepresent if not to slay him.

I honored him for his moral heroism when occasion called for the exhibition of moral courage. Most of all, I honored him because he was among the few men who dare to speak truth to the people in the presence of the king, and dare to speak truth to the king in the presence of the people.

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Mr. PRESIDENT: I can add nothing to what has been said of Senator STONE, so eloquently, so tenderly, and so sincerely said, for I know well that all who have spoken voiced the sentiments of their hearts.

This man was my friend, the dearest friend I ever had. I have tested his mettle. I have looked into his heart. I have seen his soul. He was as tender a husband, as loving a father, as sincere a friend, as chivalric a gentleman as you will ever meet. He was as wise a man as I ever knew; he was as brave a man as I ever knew; he was as patriotic a man as ever lived and walked this earth.

All his life he gave to his country. He was not an office seeker, selfishly striving to gain the power or emoluments of position. He was a soldier, who on the battle field of the world enlisted for life in the service of mankind.

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of public servants, perhaps I should say of officeholders. There is a class who climb to public position by any ladder that their feet can touch and who, once seated in a place of power, seek only to maintain it for their selfish profit. These men, having gained position, put ear to ground that they may catch each rumble of popular opinion. They study not the safety of the State. They think alone of how they may keep safe the place they hold.

What an easy, lazy, selfish task to sit serenely and to never ask "What is the right?" "What does my country need?" but "What is best for me, that I, forsooth, may cling to power, gathering the loaves and fishes of the place I have?"

Such men as I am now discussing frequently secure the very acme of public praise. Forever drifting with the stream, their course is without opposition, and they enjoy the tranquillity of uselessness. We find them basking in

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the sun. They, therefore, never feel the chill of adverse winds. As they are but the echo of the crowd, its generous applause rings constant in their ears. Such a course requires neither courage nor talent. A fair ability to guess what may for the brief hour be popular is all that is required. They do not serve the State, humanity, or God; they serve themselves alone.

But there are others, sir, and happily many, who place the call of duty above all selfish ends. We find them everywhere. The faithful servitor in private life who thinks more of his master's welfare than of the dollars he is paid. Such service is beyond a money price. The faithful officer of the country who makes its interest paramount and to it gives the best energies of his life. Such men are guardians of the portals of the State. There also is the man who, filling a great post of public trust, thinks only of what his duty is, who does not pause to count the cost to his poor self, but, keeping mind and eye fixed on the stars of justice and of truth, steers the straight course of honor. Such a man is statesman, friend of country and humanity, and such alone do serve their country well.

It has been well said here to-day how absolutely Senator STONE devoted his life to public service. Notwithstanding the fact that his conspicuous abilities as a lawyer rendered his career at the bar one certain of the most brilliant achievements, he early abandoned that lucrative profession to serve his country in the Congress. I shall, in the sketch of his life later to be presented, call attention to his activities in the House of Representatives. I characterize them now by one statement: His every vote as a Member of the House of Representatives may be examined, his every speech may be read, and there is not one vote that was not cast, there is not one speech that was not made, in defense of the plain, common people of

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this land, in support of our country's rights, in vindication of those great, fundamental principles of democracy and of republicanism that have made this country the land of freedom, progress, and happiness.

From his fight to recover for our Government the lands that thieves had stolen by the hundreds of thousands of acres, on through his career in the House his every act, his every vote, his every thought was upon the side of the people of the United States. No menacing power of wealth, no sinister influence, no consideration of self ever caused him to swerve a hair's breadth from the plain, straight path of duty to his country.

He became governor of the State of Missouri. Here I want to give to my associates a chapter out of his life which will show how long he suffered under unjust charges, under villainous criticism, and the causes for it.

With shame I say that my great State, like many other States of the Union, had in its legislative branch come too much within the influence of a corrupt railroad lobby. It was at that period when railroad officials conceived it to be their duty, or at least their interest, to seek to prevent legislation, however wholesome, by employing devious practices upon legislative bodies. Passes were handed out in great bales to legislators and their families. The railroad lobbyist was looked for by certain classes almost as the pay car by the regular employees of the railroad. It was under such conditions Senator STONE dared to demand that the Missouri Legislature should pass a fellow-servant bill which would abrogate the ancient and brutal common-law rule that an employee could not recover for injuries if they had been inflicted through the carelessness of a fellow servant. The defense that had been made in hundreds of thousands of lawsuits had left many a brave man's widow without a dollar to live upon. It had turned into the street as paupers thousands of orphans

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whose fathers, in the effort to save the passengers drawn by their engines, heroically died at their posts of duty.

Seeing their ancient legal fortress impaired, the railroad lobby rallied. The struggle was intense, bitter, and relentless. In the end the lobby was powerful enough to defeat the bill. In a message sternly demanding that the lobby should not be permitted to influence legislative action Senator STONE again demanded the enactment of the bill. So bitter was his castigation of the methods employed that he incurred the personal enmity of the members of the lobby and all of its numerous and powerful allies.

It was because of this service for humanity and the State that he became the victim of their slander and their abuse, which ran to such supreme heights and was carried on with such illimitable vindictiveness that many men were led to believe the foul slanders that were coined in the hearts of the criminals against whom our revered friend had sought to protect the State he loved and served.

Most of the actors in that drama are dead and gone. I shall not further dwell upon the theme. In Missouri, where the real truth is known, the people understand that there is not a blot or stain upon the honorable and pure career of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. From his labors at last came the statute that gave relief against the hardships of the old common-law rule. By his sturdy blows the lobby and the corrupt elements that had infested our capital were given their first great defeat, a defeat which ultimately resulted in their extermination. When Gov. STONE engaged in that conflict he knew the cost; but then, as at all other times, he stood square fronted to the storm and did not for a moment flinch.

When he left the office of governor this man with these superb talents, who could have sold his time at any price,

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was in debt thousands of dollars, without, I believe, a hundred dollars' worth of property of any kind.

He engaged for two or three years in the practice of law, and in that short period was able to pay off all the debts he owed and lay by what might almost have been a competence to some men. When he again entered the public service his little fortune melted away like snow before the sun. He served until the end of his life in this body and died so poor that substantially all he left to the family he loved was a little life insurance policy.

Briefly, let me refer to his labors as a Senator:

Men of the Senate, you have seen him toil unremittingly by day. You know how he labored in committees far into the night. When, some three years ago, the great finance bill was pressing, he undoubtedly broke his health by the tremendous labor he underwent. At that time he survived a sick spell that threatened to bring the end. He never was strong again; and yet he came to this body when he was so feeble that he could scarcely walk. He sat with his committees. He toiled and wrought unceasingly. Not a detail of duty was allowed to escape his vigilance and industry. And so, worn out and troubled, this old soldier serving a life enlistment in the army of patriotism, came to answer the question that has been so often referred to to-day, "Is it my duty to vote to plunge my country into the great European war or is it my duty to seek to hold her back?"

I know his heart on that. I talked with him. I said to him:

It is the decree of fate; war will be declared. A vote against it will mean your political ruin. You are old and you have no property.

I wish—great God of justice, how I wish!—all the people of his State could have looked into his eyes as I was looking then and could have seen his soul as I saw it revealed

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and could have heard his voice, tremulous with emotion, as he answered:

> I know what it means to me. I know this war is coming. I know the people are aflame with the spirit of battle. I know that it is inevitable; but would you have me consider my personal welfare in a case that involves the lives of millions of men, the heartaches of countless mothers, the breaking up of homes? I can not vote to send our boys into this conflict, to involve our country in this struggle, the end of which we can not see, and the results of which to our country and our civilization we can not prophecy. I can not so vote until further efforts have been made to avert the fearful sacrifices.

And so he cast his vote against the declaration of war.

Was it not a brave thing to do? Had he voted for war, he would not have been voting to send himself to war or into any danger. He would have been acclaimed a great leader. When he voted against war, he voted his own crucifixion for months; perhaps forever. Had he voted for war, he would not have voted to send his own son, for he was a distinguished Federal judge, beyond the age to be sent to war.

He would not have voted to send a single close personal relative so far as I know. He was not thinking of himself. He was thinking of the sons of other fathers, the grown-up "babies" of other mothers, the husbands of wives, the fathers of children who would die on distant battle fields. He was looking at the orphans that were to be, the army of cripples that would soon march across our land. He was thinking of our country and the dangers that lurked after the war as well as in the war.

So he endured the torture of attack, the obloquy of slander, the shafts of abuse, and stood up bravely and without shrinking. But as the war went on each day he gave his thought, his heart, his energy to the success of

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the American Army. I say here what has already been, in substance, said, it was the grim advance of Germany's hosts that did much to break him down and to hasten the inevitable end. Day after day I was in his office, calling generally in the morning, finding him there almost invariably pacing the floor. In his hand a newspaper describing how the French were being driven back and back and how the gallant English were being forced to retreat; telling of assaults with poison gas and deadly shells that broke the heroic ranks of our allies and carpeted the ground with thousands of their gallant dead.

I saw him then and know how his soul agonized. I know how his body quivered with excitement and sympathy for our friends and for our cause. It was not hard then to discover that the old patriot and lover of his country could not longer withstand the agony. At last the strain became too great, the vital cord snapped. In the fullness of his intellectual power, at the zenith of his greatness, he halted. His work for country and for humanity had ceased.

There is no speech or tongue that can quite do justice to a life like his. Faithful to friends and true to every trust, through life's long battle he fronted every foe. His arm was never lowered in the strife. He never struck an unkind or ungenerous blow. He folded the mantle of honor about him and laid down upon life's battle field and sank into that peaceful slumber death brings the brave. There is no stain or taint upon his life, and at its end his friends and all the world can write, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

I present a brief sketch of the public service of Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE:

Senator STONE was a Member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses, his term beginning March 4, 1885, and closing March 4, 1891.

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During his term in the House he was a member of the Public Lands Committee, of the Selective Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, and a selective committee appointed to investigate the labor troubles in Pennsylvania in 1888.

His work in Congress was principally identified with (1) public lands; (2) reformation of the civil service; (3) amendments to the Judicial Code, having in mind the restriction of jurisdiction of the then United States circuit court; (4) opposition to fraudulent pensions; (5) river and harbor improvement; (6) repeal of silver-purchase law; (7) tariff reduction; (8) opposition to the force bill.

(1) Public lands: His services in respect to public lands were in connection with two great measures. One of these measures, which was not introduced by him but in which he took a very prominent part, was the repeal of the then existing laws respecting the acquirement of public lands. At this particular time a vast amount of the land being preempted or taken under the different land laws was being fraudulently acquired. It was estimated by Land Office officials that all the way from 70 to 95 per cent of the entries were fraudulent. A large amount, literally hundreds of thousands of acres of valuable mineral, grazing, and timber lands were being thus accumulated by speculators in utter defiance of the wording and spirit of the land laws and, of course, to the detriment of the bona fide settler and entryman. The law in question, if adopted, would have had the double effect of protecting past frauds and making future fraudulent acts easy and safe. Against this proposition he fought during the entire three terms. His speeches upon this subject may be found in the Records of the Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 7161; Forty-ninth Congress, second session, page 2023; Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 5561,

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5568, 5573, 5596, and 5606. They were models of research, logic, and forensic ability of the highest type.

The second measure affecting the public lands with which he was identified, and, in fact, the author, was a bill providing for the forfeiture by various railroads of land granted by the Government in aid of railway construction under certain conditions, which conditions had not been complied with by the railway companies. In other words, the return to the Government of donated land which had not been earned in accordance with the terms of the donation. These forfeiture bills involved something like 60,000,000 acres of land. After a fight which he led, lasting five years, the most of these laws were passed in substance and there was returned to the public domain approximately 60,000,000 acres for settlement, thus affording homes and farms for 375,000 settlers.

His speeches upon this matter may be found in the Records of the Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 5436, 5439, 5440, and 7039–7044; Fiftieth Congress, second session, pages 2674–2676; Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 7002–7012.

These speeches show the ability of a great lawyer, a profound reasoner, and give conclusive evidence of Senator STONE's hatred of everything tainted with unfairness or dishonesty. They brought him into national prominence. Changes in the land laws affecting Oklahoma public lands which would have made speculation and fraud easy: Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 2210–2213, 2216, 2218.

(2) Restriction of United States courts: He had been very much impressed by the injustice of the imprisonment of county judges in Missouri who had refused to vote tax levies to pay the old fraudulent railway bonds. Two of the counties involved—Cass and St. Clair—were in his congressional district. He was impressed deeply with the

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conviction that the United States courts, in issuing writs controlling the acts of State officials in their duties under State laws, were exceeding their constitutional powers and were breaking down the sovereignty of the State as guaranteed under the Constitution. He regarded it as of paramount importance to the welfare of the country that neither the National Government nor the States should be deprived of any of the powers granted in the Constitution. He believed that the tendency in the courts was toward a centralization of power and a crippling in an unwarranted and unconstitutional manner of the powers of the State. This he found exemplified in the change of the attitude by the Supreme Court of the United States in the matter of following the State court interpretation and construction of State laws and constitutions and in the writs issued to State officers as above. The latter evil had been brought, as I have said, vividly to his mind through the imprisonment of these county judges, who under the existing law were not only powerless to issue the orders levying the taxes in accordance with the judgment of the United States court but would have made themselves liable to heavy penalties had they done so. He therefore introduced a bill providing that "The jurisdiction of the district and circuit courts of the United States shall not be deemed to extend to any judicial or other officer elected or appointed under the laws of any State to compel by mandamus or other writ the performance by such officer of any official act arising under or authorized to be done by the laws of such State." Upon the 5th of January, 1886, he for the first time introduced bills. One of these was the above, affecting United States courts. In every session thereafter he introduced this same measure and fought for its adoption. The speeches made in support of it are powerful and seemingly unanswerable constitutional arguments; they may be found in the Record of the Forty-ninth

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Congress, second session, page 1459, and the Fiftieth Congress, first session.

It may be of interest in this connection to say that, although unsuccessful in having this law adopted, he continued the fight during his term as governor, sending to the legislature a special message requesting the memorialization of Congress touching the matter and the passage of a law which would permit the governor, in any case where the county judge was incapacitated by imprisonment or otherwise to act, to appoint a commissioner to do any and only such specified acts as the governor might designate and who should remain in office only until those acts were performed. This recommendation passed the house of representatives but was killed in the State senate by what was denominated in the newspapers at that time as the "bondholders' friends."

(3) Fraudulent pensions: At the time he was serving in the House of Representatives a vast number of bills pensioning named persons were passed. This was done to such an extent that Friday night of each week was set aside and devoted to that purpose. Early in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress he began to oppose such of these bills as he regarded as fraudulent and unworthy. This opposition was unusual, startling, and daring, since it in a way challenged the opposition of the old soldier vote, of which vote he had a very large number in his district. The position he took in regard to these bills was that each claim should be carefully considered upon its merits, the worthy claims allowed and the unworthy disallowed. He undertook the enormous task of investigating the great number of these claims in detail, and so effective was his exposure of the fraudulent character of many of them that during that term, which was his last in the House, the evil was effectually abated. His position on these matters attracted wide attention all

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over the country and, except from selfish or partisan sources, met with universal approval. Some of his remarks upon these matters may be found in the Record of the Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 2502–2509, 2763, 2254–2259, 2773, 3012, 3516.

(4) River and harbor improvement: Beginning with his first session in Congress and extending through the time he was in the House of Representatives he vigorously opposed provisions in the river and harbor bill appropriating money for the improvement of inconsequential streams. His position upon such improvements was expressed in the following sentence:

> I would improve nothing by national legislation except important harbors and the important rivers of the country. (49th Cong., 2d sess., p. 921.)

His speeches upon this subject may be found in the Record, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 4246; Forty-ninth Congress, second session, page 920; Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 3208, 3255, 3259–3261. The final part of the first speech made upon this subject, found in the Record, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 4246, is rich with rare humor and is well worthy to stand beside Proctor Knott's famous Duluth speech.

(5) Repeal of silver purchase law: At this time the United States Government purchased so much silver annually. During the terms he served the House there was a violent fight over the repeal of this law, which would have resulted in the total demonetization of silver. Upon this question he took a strong stand against the repeal of the purchase clause. The first speech he ever made in Congress was in opposition. The first sentence, so far as the Record shows, which he uttered in Congress was the beginning of this speech, as follows:

> Mr. Speaker, I take it that statesmanship is never directed to better purpose than when it aspires to make the great masses of people contented and happy. (49th Cong., 1st sess., p. 2603.)

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His speeches upon this matter are found in the Record of the Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 2603; Fifty-first Congress, first session, page 5807.

It was undoubtedly STONE's great influence which tipped the balance of Democratic opinion in favor of the ticket of free and unlimited coinage of silver. STONE was an ardent advocate of the nomination of Mr. Bland for President at the 1896 convention. Whatever may be the opinion as to the wisdom of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, it is now practically admitted that the interests of the country demanded an increased volume of money. It is not too much to say that whether or not free and unlimited coinage of silver was a correct principle it was a sounder doctrine than that the currency should remain stationary and contracted. This battle waged on behalf of the people undoubtedly brought good fruit in later years and did much toward the final currency and banking reform under which the Nation now prospers.

(6) Tariff reduction: He was at all times strongly in favor of a reduction of the tariff to a strictly revenue basis. His views upon that matter may be found in the Record, Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 3856, 4869.

(7) Force bill: Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, and it was during that Congress the Republicans introduced and attempted to pass the infamous force bill, which contemplated the complete control of elections by Federal officials—military, if necessary. This bill was aimed to perpetuate in power the Republican Party by giving over the control of the South. No congressional measure in my memory has engendered the bitterness in congressional debate which this bill aroused. In both sessions of this Congress he made speeches against the bill. In the last of these speeches he did much to compass the defeat of the bill.

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Lovers of forensic eloquence would do well to read that speech. It is found in the Record, Fifty-first Congress, second session, page 1211. The other speech is found in the Record, Fifty-first Congress, first session, page 6848.

Other matters of importance upon which he expressed himself were as follows:

(a) In connection with a bill providing for arbitration between interstate carriers and their employees he indorsed labor organization and advocated the ownership by the Government of railways and telegraphs. (Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 54.)

(b) He favored the irrigation of arid areas. (Record, 49th Cong., 2d sess., p. 8480.)

(c) He bitterly attacked "Czar" Reed's abuse of powers as Speaker of the House. (51st Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 45.)

(d) He voted for and advocated an act prohibiting the importation and sale of convict-labor-made articles.

(e) The report, partially prepared by him, made by the selective committee on existing labor troubles in Pennsylvania in 1888 was such a thorough exposure of the unparalleled conditions of labor in that State that it attracted national attention and comment.

The distinguished services rendered by Mr. STONE as a Member of Congress made him the logical Democratic nominee for governor. He filled that important position from 1893 to 1897.

His entire administration was stormy and eventful. This was due partly from conditions affecting Missouri along with the entire country and partly from conditions peculiar to Missouri at that time. Among the former may be noted the financial stringency and panic and widespread labor disturbances on a great scale, including the American Railway Union strike and miners' strike. Among the latter conditions may be noted the marked re-

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duction in the State revenues, the powerful railroad lobby which had control of the legislature, and frauds in elections in the big cities of the State.

The effect of the general nation-wide financial situation needs no comment.

There was widespread industrial discontent at the time, which included not only the railway and mine strikes noted above but the famous Coxey movement. The result of these disturbances was that the military arm of the State was called out in many States of the Union, including the three Missouri boundary States—Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. Although Missouri was a great railroad and a great mining State, and these disturbances were as powerful there as in other States, the situation was so controlled that disturbances were reduced to the minimum and at no time was it necessary to declare martial law at any point or to call out the State troops. This was the result, of course, of his firm but rational handling of the situation.

The reduction of the State revenue began about the first of his administration. Under the State constitution the rate of taxation for State purposes automatically changed from 20 to 15 mills when the assessed valuation reached $900,000,000. Up to the beginning of his administration the assessed valuation had been a few millions under $900,000,000, thus affording the maximum revenue. About the beginning of his administration it passed to a few million beyond the $900,000,000 mark, resulting in a loss of one-fourth of the tax rate with no compensating increase in the assessed valuation. Also, in 1892, just before the beginning of his term, the main building of the State University had burned, and during his administration the normal buildings at one of the normal schools had also been destroyed by fire. In the face of this financial condition the affairs of the State were so handled

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that not only were all State needs met, repairs and additions to the eleemosynary and educational institutions made, including the present main building at the State University, but the State bonded debt was very materially decreased. At the beginning of his term this bonded debt amounted to $6,680,000, consisting of $1,380,000 at 6 per cent and $5,300,000 at 3½ per cent.

During this administration all of the 6 per cent bonds were paid off and $300,000 of the 3½ per cent bonds, thus reducing the bonded debt by $1,680,000, disposing of all of the higher per cent bonds and reducing the annual interest demand by almost $100,000. As important items in connection with this subject it may be said that the reduction of the annual revenue through the change of rate of taxation was about $500,000 and that during this time nearly $800,000 was expended in connection with additions and repairs at educational and eleemosynary institutions.

For years the railroad lobby had exercised a potential influence over the State legislature. The fight with this lobby began shortly after his induction into office through his attempt to have enacted a railway fellow-servants' law. The fight became bitter and personal, with the result that for the first time in many years the lobby was driven from power, and although they prevented the enaction of the fellow-servants' law during his administration his work had been so effective that it was forced through by the first legislature after he left office.

There had been prior to and during his term of office notorious election frauds in the large cities of the State. He urged and secured the passage of fair election laws which tended to minimize this evil.

He proved himself the friend of the public-school system of the State and a champion of the university, sending to the legislature a special message upon the latter

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subject in which he favored the establishment of a substantial endowment fund. As stated in the discussion of his record in the House of Representatives, he sought to relieve the situation brought about in St. Clair and other counties by the imprisonment of the county judges, sending a special message to the legislature in that regard, advocating a memorial to Congress upon the subject, and a law empowering the Government to appoint a commissioner with special powers to carry on such parts of the duties of the county court as might be designated by the governor and which were necessary to prevent the paralysis of the affairs of the counties.

During his term as governor he took a very prominent part in State and national politics. Among the subjects in question to which he devoted himself was the silver question, with which you are familiar. Others were as follows:

During his term the American Protective Association reached the zenith of power. This was an organization whose sole purpose was to oppose the holding of public office by any Catholic. It introduced into politics the religious issue, and seems unquestionably, at least in Missouri, to have been allied with the Republican Party. It became very formidable and public men were careful in opposing it. He, however, declared vigorously against it, denouncing it in unmeasured terms as un-American and fighting it so effectively that the Democratic convention of 1894 adopted as a plank in its platform a denunciation of the organization. The fact that he was bitterly denounced for this action and received a great number of letters threatening his life had the, with him, natural result of increasing his opposition.

Out of all his speeches I am sure he would have me select for preservation here these words which he uttered in the Missouri campaign of 1894. He would desire to

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have them preserved because he spoke them out of the fullness of his heart; because they mirrored his broad, generous soul and his true Americanism:

Thomas Jefferson was the father of the Democratic Party. On his tomb is an inscription which he had written for himself, "The author of the statute of religious freedom of the State of Virginia."

There are men within the hearing of my voice now, I doubt not, who recollect how the so-called Know-nothing Party rose up and became a political potentiality in the forties. Its objects were twofold—to deny the ballot to citizens born outside the United States and to Catholics the right to hold an office. And the first Democratic national convention, after this organization arose, denounced it as un-American, wrong in principle, as an attack upon the liberty of the individual and the integrity of our institutions. The Republican Party shortly afterwards nominated a President and Vice President and formulated a platform. But it said not one word in denunciation of that Know-nothing movement. It dodged the issue and said nothing. It has been prone to this policy ever since. Fellow citizens, that political party is not worth your vote or mine that hesitates to do right, no matter what comes of it.

I denounce this present know-nothing movement, this A. P. A., as our party has denounced it, because it is un-Democratic, un-American, and un-Christian. It is un-Democratic because it is inequitable and unjust. It is un-American because it is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no religious test shall ever be required to the holding of public office. And a similar provision is written in the fundamental law of our own Commonwealth. Finally, I leave it with you all if it is not un-Christian. I do not speak to-night from the standpoint of a Catholic. I am not a Catholic. By birth, by marriage, by conviction I am a Protestant; I speak from the standpoint of an American citizen, a Democrat, and a man.

He championed the rights of the States and of local government.

He also advocated the construction of a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf, with improvement of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

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In September, 1894, in a speech at Carthage, he strongly advocated the popular election of United States Senators.

At the annual banquet of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation at Delmonico's in April, 1894, as guest of honor, he responded to the toast of "The Western Point of View." His speech was a eulogy of the greatness of the West, which he loved, and of the political and patriotic necessity of a combination of the West and South against the East to secure fair national treatment unless the East would recognize the situation and accord it. This speech attracted national attention and placed him among the presidential possibilities widely discussed.

Senator STONE's career is fresh in the minds of those who meet to-day to pay respect to his memory. Nevertheless, for the sake of history, I shall very briefly review some of his principal acts in the Senate during the years he sat here in this Chamber exercising a potential influence upon public events.

WILLIAM J. STONE entered the Senate March 4, 1903, succeeding George Graham Vest, Missouri's renowned "Senator of two Republics," whose service in the United States Senate covered an eventful period of 18 years. It is well known in the political history of Missouri that Mr. STONE could have been elected to the Senate in 1897 upon his retirement from the governorship. It is known that he declined the overtures made by Democratic leaders in the legislature because of his profound respect for the towering abilities of Senator Vest and because he considered the distinguished services of Vest merited continued tenure in the Senate. It was not until Mr. Vest announced his forthcoming retirement that Gov. STONE consented to become a candidate for senatorial honors. He was elected by the legislature in January, 1903, following a caucus nomination of his own party, without opposition, his only opponent having withdrawn upon the eve of the ballot.

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His senatorial career began with the special session of the Senate in the Fifty-eighth Congress, called in March, 1903, to consider the Cuban reciprocity treaty. His first entry into senatorial debate was on January 26, 1904, with an address upon the Panama Canal treaty concluded with the new-fledged Republic of Panama by the Roosevelt administration. The debates upon this treaty were largely conducted in the open Senate through the medium of resolutions touching the controversy presented by various Senators. Senator STONE drew the attention of his new colleagues by a clear, incisive discussion of the somewhat unusual features of the revolution out of which the new government had sprung. He supported the treaty, accepting the opportunity to advance the great canal project, of such great concern to Americans, but condemned the methods he believed to have preceded the separation of Panama from Colombia, urging a more liberal policy in dealing with the Latin American nations. His words upon this occasion were prophetic, suggestive of a new policy in our relations with Central and South American States, a policy now generally approved and accepted as both wise and just. Among other things, he said:

The true policy of this Government with reference to the Republics south of us would lead us on different and higher lines. We should so comport ourselves as to inspire the confidence of our neighbors. They should not stand in dread of our power, but rely upon it as a shield for their protection. We should link them by bonds of mutual amity and interest. What boots the Monroe doctrine to them if it stands only to guard them against European aggression, while the door is open for us to invade at pleasure?

If I could be potent in shaping our policy in this behalf, I would be governed by one supreme consideration—that of attracting the southern Republics to us by a course instinct with the spirit of candor, justice, and fair play. I would enter into such compacts with them as would promote our commercial relations and make them for all practical purposes, offensive and

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defensive, a part of us. I would strive to inaugurate great republican policies of government—monetary, commercial, and political—common to all America, and these I would oppose, if need be, to the monarchical policies of the Old World.

Senator STONE received exceptionally good committee assignments, including places on the Commerce, Indian Affairs, Philippines, Public Buildings, and Education and Labor Committees, all active, important bodies. At that time, with the Indian problem in an acute stage, prior to statehood for Oklahoma and the Indian Territory, his assignment to the Indian Affairs Committee, of which he afterwards became chairman, was particularly important. Many thousands of Missourians were residents of the two Territories named, and these people naturally regarded Mr. STONE as their representative. Accordingly he took an active interest in all legislation dealing with the settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, sponsoring and advocating many constructive measures vital to the people of the Southwest. Among these were bills looking to the removal of restrictions upon the alienation of the surplus lands of full-fledged citizens; the control of the sale and leasing of mineral lands in the Territory so as to protect the Indian, prevent unscrupulous exploitation, and at the same time promote the legitimate development of a region of marvelous growth and prospect. He exposed and thwarted many designs of speculators and lobbyists who sought to profit at the expense of the Indian and this new country. Statehood was then the vital issue in the Territories, and, though not a member of the Territories Committee, he consistently advocated and voted for statehood, preferring separate statehood, but finally supporting the only possible measure that could be passed, under which Oklahoma was admitted into the Union. In connection with his consideration of the Indian problem he strongly supported the established policy of Congress and

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the Government in suppressing the liquor traffic among the Indian tribes and was the author of the self-enforcing prohibitory provision afterwards incorporated into the Oklahoma constitution, known as the Gallinger-Stone amendment to the statehood enabling act.

Through his fight with the railroad lobby in Missouri he had become familiar with the evil effects of corporation activity in politics. He had succeeded in securing the adoption of a party declaration upon the subject by the Democratic national convention in 1900, which he wrote and championed. This declaration reads:

> Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests ought to be respected, but any attempt to interfere with public affairs of the people or to control the sovereign which creates them ought to be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

During the last days of the Fifty-eighth Congress he delivered in the Senate a remarkable address upon the subject of campaign contributions by corporations and was one of the first to advocate stringent penalties for future offenses of this character. It has since been provided by law in practically every State and by Federal statute that no corporation can make contributions to committees or candidates. STONE was among the pioneers in urging such legislation.

He succeeded Senator Vest on the Commerce Committee, then, as now, dealing with waterway transportation projects of great consequence to the States touching the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers. During the early period of his service on this committee the policy of Congress respecting the upper Mississippi and the Missouri was distinctly unfavorable. Senator STONE began a long and for many years an apparently hopeless fight for a systematic improvement plan, adequately financed by congressional appropriations, covering both waterways.

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This was before commercial bodies in the Mississippi Valley had undertaken extensive educational propaganda directed toward the development of public sentiment in sympathy with these projects. Many of the appropriations which maintained these two waterways upon even the most temporary basis during these years of determined opposition by potent factors in legislation in both Houses of Congress were due to the persistent and persuasive efforts of the Missouri Senator. Dealing with the haphazard method of river appropriations, he said in the Senate on February 27, 1907:

> Yet we wonder why the commerce on the river goes down, and why the capitalists of St. Louis do not invest in boats and barges for river navigation. There is neither justice nor reason in such a condition. A policy such as we are following creates uncertainty, destroys confidence, and retards the development of that immense commerce that would almost certainly follow if more assuring conditions prevailed.

He had the privilege of subsequently aiding in framing the provision of legislation which established permanent annual appropriations for the Missouri River and increased allotments to the upper Mississippi. At all times he was an ardent advocate of the project known as the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway.

In his service upon the Commerce Committee he became a close student of the national shipping problem and was always a staunch advocate of liberal treatment of American shipping. More than once he advocated in the Senate repeal of the restrictive navigation laws, which he argued were responsible for the decline of the American merchant fleet. He had always been one of the foremost advocates of progressive merchant-marine legislation. Practically every public utterance of his, upon the stump and elsewhere, dealing with general national issues had contained strong appeals for merchant-marine

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legislation upon broad lines. He had opposed subsidies upon all occasions, owing to his pronounced conviction that the repeal of the navigation laws would alone promote the growth of a national fleet under American registry. Years afterwards, in the Sixty-fourth Congress, when as an administration leader, with his own party in power in the Senate, he was one of the foremost Senators contending for the passage of the shipping bill, which afterwards became law in a modified form, resulting in the establishment of the present Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet. His activities in this behalf are well known. His strong advocacy of an adequate naval program was inseparably connected with his ardor for a great merchant fleet. Speaking on this subject in the Senate, April 27, 1908, he said:

> For many years, both in and out of Congress, I have been an ardent advocate of an increased Navy and also policies looking to the restoration of our merchant marine. The two things are so related that I can not think of the one without thinking of the other. The decadence of our maritime prestige and power constitutes one of the most discreditable and humiliating facts in our history. * * * No man is more solicitous than I to see our merchant ships swarming all over the world, and I doubt if any is more keenly alive to the wisdom and necessity of constructing a war Navy adequate to subserve the needs of our country.

During the long session of the Fifty-ninth Congress the railroad-rate legislation pressed by President Roosevelt was the acute issue. The bill finally presented to the Senate empowered the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates upon prescribed standards. Debate in the Senate was extended, finally turning upon the question of judicial review of the commission's acts. Many great speeches were made upon the various phases of the legislation proposed. Senator STONE delivered during this session one of the most carefully prepared addresses of his legislative

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career, in which he discussed these problems with rare clearness of thought, taking advanced ground upon both the legal questions presented and the general policy of rate fixing. In this speech, delivered April 5, 1906, he opposed enlargement of the power of the judiciary to suspend the orders of the commission and strongly advocated the policy of allowing the commission to initiate and fix rates. He favored the regulation by statute of the practice of courts in dealing with the decrees of the commission, saying:

> A law of this kind to be effective, and orders of this kind by a commission of this kind to be of value, must be promptly enforced. The courts should be open to every suitor, but the privilege of resorting to them should not be turned into an abuse. While guarding the right of everyone to seek a judicial remedy for private wrong, the exercise of that right should be so regulated as to prevent it eventuating in a public wrong.

The original interstate-commerce act, which placed a ban upon rebating, contained a clause punishing violations of the antirebate section by imprisonment. In the Fifty-seventh Congress the imprisonment penalties were abolished by act of Congress. In his speech of April 5, 1906, Senator STONE advocated the restoration of these penalties, being the first Senator to speak upon the subject. Later he offered an amendment to the pending bill which restored the penalty clauses of the original act. This amendment was adopted and the bill as finally passed contained the provision.

In 1907 he made an extended tour of the Philippine Islands and the Orient, and upon his return to the Senate he prepared and afterwards presented a constructive program for the treatment of the islands. He proposed to restore them to their own people 15 years after the date of the treaty of Paris, with a provision for the neutralization of the territory, retaining naval bases for the United

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States. This measure was widely commented upon and received the practically solid support of those who favored Filipino independence. The Democratic national platform of 1908 contained a plank indorsing this policy, expressed in language almost identical with the terms of Senator STONE's joint resolution.

Throughout the entire discussion of tariff legislation dealing with the Philippines Senator STONE opposed free trade with the islands. In a notable speech delivered April 20, 1909, he set forth in a strong argument his reasons for his position, based upon constitutional grounds and considerations of sound policy. He contended that if the doctrine which accepted the Philippines as a part of the United States was well founded no customs barriers of any kind should be raised against them, but that, if the Nation proposed to return the islands to their own people, it would be unwise to create such commercial relations as would make it difficult to accomplish our national purpose, adding that we were under no such obligations to the Filipinos "as to make it our duty to support their government or to build up their industry at the expense of our own."

Probably his most active work in the Senate, covering a period of over seven years, was in the great Finance Committee, of which he was appointed a member on December 8, 1910. Even before his service upon the committee began he took an active part in tariff legislation and tariff discussions. He participated extensively in the debates on the Payne-Aldrich bill, the Canadian reciprocity measure, the schedule-by-schedule revision attempted in the Sixty-second Congress, and on the Underwood-Simmons bill—the present law. In the celebrated contest over the Payne-Aldrich bill, during which the majority party of the Senate divided into sharply defined factions, Senator STONE, still a minority Member of the Senate, was

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conspicuous. Though not a member of the Finance Committee at that time, he availed himself of the counsel of experts, conducted an independent research into the various schedules, and carried on a vigorous fight in the open Senate for lower duties. Many of his exchanges with Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, then the chairman of the Finance Committee, attracted national attention. Senator STONE may justly be termed one of the leaders in the fight against the bill, which probably aroused more intensity of feeling among the respective factions than any other tariff bill in our history, stimulating a greater variance of opinion with men of all parties. It was largely due to his fight on the Payne-Aldrich bill that his appointment to the first vacancy on the Finance Committee was made.

During the last session of the Sixty-first Congress a heated contest developed in the Senate over the charges against William Lorimer, then a Senator from Illinois. Possibly none more bitter, and few more intense, involving a personal issue, ever appeared in the Senate. Senator STONE was not a member of the committee which investigated the charges, but after the evidence had all been presented and Mr. Lorimer himself had addressed the Senate in his own behalf, Senator STONE, on February 28, 1911, in an extended speech attacked Mr. Lorimer's position and declared his intention to vote to oust the Illinoisan upon the facts submitted. This speech was remarkably dispassionate, displaying in the most striking way the Senator's great powers of analysis and judgment. It was regarded by many as one of the best efforts of his senatorial service, and was undoubtedly of great weight in the final determination of the question. He dwelt strongly upon the ultimate responsibility of Mr. Lorimer for admitted irregularities in the legislature and challenged the correctness of Lorimer's interpretation of

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his relations to his lieutenants, particularly a member of the Illinois lower house named Browne. Senator STONE said:

> Does it seem probable that Browne would discuss money considerations with his followers, make promises and afterwards keep them, with utter ignorance on Lorimer's part as to what was being done? Lorimer was in command, and he was to be beneficiary of the contest. Can Lorimer's lieutenants be guilty of these crimes and yet Lorimer himself, the beneficiary, be wholly innocent?

This address is cited as one of the most powerful evidences of Mr. STONE's abhorrence of corrupt practices in politics. The question involved in this case was not partisan—party lines were wiped out in considering the facts. Senator STONE weighed the evidence and declined to compromise with what he considered a vicious thing. He believed the Illinoisan guilty of culpability in this connection, so declared and so voted, and his view finally prevailed.

In 1910 a political upheaval resulted in the election of the first Democratic House of Representatives since 1892. In the new Congress Senator STONE, as a member of the Finance Committee, took a prominent part in support of the Canadian reciprocity treaty presented by President Taft. He was one of the most constant attendants upon the sessions of the committee, which were largely occupied for a time in extended hearings. It developed that many of the President's party associates in the Senate were opposed to the measure, so that a very considerable portion of its advocacy fell upon the shoulders of Senator STONE and his party colleagues. He was frequently called into consultation by the President and worked faithfully and assiduously for the passage of the treaty. He was one of those who were keenly disappointed when the measure was rejected, owing to the fall of the Laurier

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government in Canada through the elections in 1911 and the accompanying reversal of the policy of the Dominion.

During this Congress the Democratic House, under a pledge to revise the tariff, passed several bills revising separate schedules of the tariff law, including the free list, cotton and woolen manufactures, and so forth. These measures had a stormy passage through the Senate, but all of them were supported and in large measure sponsored by Senator STONE in committee and upon the floor. Such of the bills as were passed by the Senate, through the cooperation of progressive Republican Senators with the Democrats, were vetoed by the President.

In the Democratic Senate of the Sixty-third Congress Senator STONE was the second ranking member of the Finance Committee and as such participated in the framing of the tariff bill passed in 1913. He was the chairman of a subcommittee considering several of the most important schedules. His responsibilities in this connection were very great and his labors arduous. His colleagues on the Finance Committee have already testified to the continuous and painstaking devotion of Senator STONE to the exacting duties of his position. He worked many weeks upon the schedules assigned to him. Anyone familiar with the details of tariff legislation can well testify to the demands upon the legislator who deals with these matters in a conscientious way. It involved many tedious hours of listening to experts, manufacturers and consumers, importers and exporters, with many patient days and weeks of laborious research and discussion.

Senator STONE applied himself to this vast undertaking with his usual thoroughness during consideration in committee, upon the floor, and elsewhere. At the same time he contributed to the debates in the Senate many illuminating and striking utterances in support of the measure. A tariff bill, under the legislative system then prevailing,

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is a greater tax upon the legislator than almost any other. The Underwood-Simmons Act became a law in October, 1913, and about a month later Senator STONE was taken critically ill, largely through overwork during the long period for the consideration of the tariff measure. His illness continued for nearly five months, developing a complication which indirectly contributed to the cause of his death.

During his convalescence in the spring of 1914 Senator Bacon, of Georgia, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, died, and Mr. STONE, the ranking majority member, was appointed to succeed him. He had served on this committee since April 23, 1908. He continued at the head of the committee until his death in April, 1918, covering a period of 10 years of service on the committee. When he returned to the Senate after his illness, having scarcely recovered, the relations of the United States with Mexico had become strained to the point of breaking and Congress had passed the joint resolution justifying the course of the Executive in using the armed forces of the United States against Huerta. Senator STONE strongly supported throughout the measures of the Government in dealing with the usurper.

During his service at the head of the Foreign Relations Committee he piloted through the Senate many important treaties, including arbitration treaties, the so-called Bryan treaties for the advancement of peace, the convention providing for the purchase of Danish West Indies, the Nicaraguan convention, and many others of minor importance.

Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Missouri and to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Kentucky, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

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The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 3, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *February 3, 1919.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the life, character, and public services of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

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PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, *April 15, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art supremely great, Infinite in all Thine attributes, our God and our Father; above all, through all, and in us all; make us, we beseech Thee, fit temples for the indwelling of Thy Spirit and tractable to its holy influence; that we may conceive wisely, follow the dictates of a clear conscience, and stand firm in our convictions.

Thus may we think well, live well, pray without ceasing, and be ready, when the summons comes, to pass on into the realms of the blest.

Death has laid a heavy toll upon the congressional family, leaving us to mourn; by the passing of two faithful and conspicuous Senators, the wife of a Representative of this body, and one of the oldest and most trustworthy employees of this House.

Comfort us and their several families, by the faith once delivered to the saints, through Him who said, "I am the resurrection and the life; whosoever believeth on me shall never die." Amen.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. STONE, which will take place at 4 o'clock p. m. to-day at his late residence in this city.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from his late home in this city to Nevada, Mo., for burial,

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in charge of the Sergeant at Arms, attended by the committee, which shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

And that in compliance with the foregoing resolutions the Vice President had appointed as said committee Mr. Reed, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Smith of Arizona, Mr. Pittman, Mr. Jones of New Mexico, Mr. King, Mr. Kendrick, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Sutherland, and Mr. Fernald.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk the following resolutions and move their adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, a Senator of the United States from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That a committee of 19 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The Speaker appointed as the committee to attend the funeral the following Members: Mr. Rucker, Mr. Shackleford, Mr. Booher, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Borland, Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Russell, Mr. Rubey, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Hensley, Mr. Igoe, Mr. Decker, Mr. Romjue, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Meeker, Mr. Linthicum, Mr. Temple, and Mr. Rainey.

The Clerk read the following additional resolution:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 30 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

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TUESDAY, *April 16, 1918.*

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in announcing the STONE funeral on yesterday the Speaker of the House [Mr. Clark], of course, did not announce himself as a member of that committee. I think he ought officially to be a member of the committee, and I ask unanimous consent that his name be added to the list.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Speaker's name will be added to the list of the committee.

There was no objection.

FRIDAY, *December 27, 1918.*

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set aside for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of the late Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE, of Missouri, and the late Representative Jacob Edwin Meeker, of Missouri.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set aside for memorializing the late Senator STONE and the late Representative Meeker, both from the State of Missouri. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

SUNDAY, *February 2, 1919.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Author of the Universe, Father of all souls, in the midst of the impenetrable mysteries which surround us, we come with profound faith, eternal hope, that in Thy wisdom, power, and goodness we shall be exalted, ennobled, glorified, in Thine own good time.

Let Thy richest blessings descend upon us now as we gather here to give expression to the worth of the men

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who were dignified by the people and made Members of the Congress of the United States. What they did to glorify a Nation of freemen will live and be a blessing to future generations.

Let Thy loving arms be about their dear ones to comfort and sustain them in this hour of trial. Give them a vision of the larger life and help them to look forward to a reunion with their dear ones in a realm where mysteries shall be dissolved and the brightest hopes realized in the dispensation of Thy providence. Thorugh Him who died, that we might live. Amen.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the Journal.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal may be dispensed with until to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with until to-morrow. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Rucker, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, and the Hon. Jacob E. Meeker, late a Member of this House from the State of Missouri.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon.

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WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Missouri, and the Hon. Jacob E. Meeker, late a Member of this House from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of their distinguished public careers, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the families of the deceased.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Igoe took the chair.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Clark, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: When Gov. Benjamin Gratz Brown, one of the most brilliant of all Missouri statesmen, on an historic occasion said, "Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed," he uttered an immortal truth. He might have added, with equal veracity, "She deserves to be grandly represented in the Congress of the United States," and she has been in the main, particularly in the Senate, where paucity of members and length of tenure more surely fix a man in the public eye than service in the House.

First and last, Missouri has commissioned 26 different men to represent her at the other end of the Capitol, in the less numerous branch of the National Legislature, in the Chamber of the Conscript Fathers, in "the Upper House of Congress," improperly so called, or, as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, would have it, "ambassadors of a sovereign State" to the Federal Government. Beginning with David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton, her pioneer Senators, who at once attracted general attention and challenged universal admiration by reason of their commanding talents, down to this very hour, when, in the persons of James A. Reed and Selden P. Spencer she holds high position in that conspicuous arena, Missouri has taken second place to none of her sister States.

These 26 Senators naturally divide themselves into two classes—the Barton line and the Benton line, 18 in the former and only 8 in the latter.

In the Barton line are Barton himself, Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S. Green,

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Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, Benjamin Gratz Brown, Charles D. Drake, Daniel T. Jewett, Francis P. Blair, Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, James Shields, George G. Vest, WILLIAM JOEL STONE, Xenophen P. Wifley, and Selden P. Spencer.

In the Benton line are Benton himself, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, Francis Marion Cockrell, William Warner, and James A. Reed.

Lucky the man who gets into Barton's seat; luckier, far luckier, the man who secures that of Thomas H. Benton, as the precedents indicate a longer public life for him.

An examination of the dates at which Missourians entered and left the Senate will disclose two curious facts in Missouri history. She is the first State that ever elected two men for five full consecutive terms to the Senate of the United States—"six Roman lustrums," as Benton was wont to boast in his pompous way. These were Benton and Cockrell. The only other State to do that is Maine, Missouri's political twin. Missouri was the first State that had only one Senator for any considerable length of time through failure to elect another. By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a Senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only Senator.

What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these later days several States have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect Senators, and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitutional

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law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment under such circumstances.

Of Missouri's 26 Senators there were 18 Democrats, 1 Whig, and 8 Republicans. Of 156 years of senatorial representation to which she has been entitled, 2 were not used, 6 fell to Whigs, 28 to Republicans, and 160 to Democrats.

This roster of Missouri Senators is an array of names of which the Nation, no less than the State, may well be proud. There are many great men—scarcely a small one—in the list.

Missouri is proud of her immeasureable physical resources, which will one day make her facile princeps among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship, consisting at this day of nearly 4,000,000 industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people.

When questioned as to her riches she could with propriety imitate the example and quote the words of Cornelia, the mother of the heroic Gracchi, and, pointing to her children, say truthfully and pridefully, "These are my jewels."

The foregoing remarks, with a few figures changed to bring the facts up to date, constitute the opening paragraphs in my speech presenting the statue of Gen. Frank P. Blair. They must still be of interest to Missourians, at least.

Of these Senators, WILLIAM JOEL STONE was one of the most eminent and forceful. Like so many other men who have achieved high position in imperial Missouri, he was born in Kentucky. Good Bishop Berkely was both a

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philosopher and a prophet when he wrote the familiar line:

Westward the Star of Empire takes its way.

It has been so always. Asia peopled Europe; Europe peopled America; and now we are engaged in peopling the Philippines—thus belting the globe, reaching out to the cradle of the human race. Before the railroads deflected travel from its natural course it is interesting to note how closely immigration hugged parallels of latitude. Until the cataclysm of the Civil War dislocated things the base of population in Missouri was composed of Virginians, Kentuckians, North Carolinians, and Tennesseeans, together with a sprinkling of the élite from every State in the Union and from every civilized nation in the world.

It will interest Kentuckians and Missourians to refresh their memories with the fact that James B. McCreary, soldier, governor, and both Representative and Senator in Congress; David Rowland Francis, mayor, governor, Cabinet minister, and ambassador; and WILLIAM JOEL STONE, governor and both Representative and Senator in Congress, were all three born in Madison County, Ky. It is interesting to try to guess what would have happened and who would have come out on top if all three had remained in their native county. Judging from their careers, and knowing that all three were ambitious all their days, and that they fought their way to place and power, it is absolutely safe to say that much friction and much resulting heat would have been engendered in the historic old county of Madison.

The members of that distinguished trio were unlike in appearance and endowments in most respects, but were alike in being men of undoubted ability and of soaring ambition. Each in his own particular way was a skillful

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political artist. STONE and Francis prove what a bright Kentuckian may come to in the rich soil of Missouri if transplanted young enough.

I had an interesting and amusing experience growing out of the fact that STONE, Francis, and myself were all Kentuckians by birth. Most of you may not know it but it is true that Ambassador Francis pulls off a Fourth of July celebration of his own when he is at home in St. Louis. As president of the "Louisiana Purchase Exposition," he erected a magnificent memorial building to Thomas Jefferson, and it is in that building he and his friends celebrate the birthday of the Republic. In 1915 the Fourth fell on Sunday, Senator STONE and I speaking in different places in St. Louis. Ambassador Francis had his celebration that year on Monday, the 5th. Learning that both the Senator and myself were in the city, he drafted us and took us out to the Jefferson Memorial Building, where all three of us made speeches. The chairman of the meeting seemed to think it out of the ordinary that all three were Kentuckians by birth and Missourians by adoption. When he introduced Senator STONE, who spoke first, he enlarged on what appeared to him to be a remarkable coincidence. He repeated that formula when he introduced Gov. Francis, who came second. He rolled it as a sweet morsel under his tongue when he presented me. I began by saying: "It is true, as the chairman has stated thrice, that Senator STONE, Gov. Francis, and myself were all born in Kentucky for better or for worse, and I am reasonably certain that I could name certain Missourians who wish that all three of us had remained in 'The Dark and Bloody Ground.'"

Col. Benton served in House and Senate, and to this day holds the Missouri record for congressional service—32 years; 30 in the Senate and 2 in the House—but the

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governorship was denied him. Trusten Polk was governor and Senator, but never in the House. James S. Green and Gen. Frank P. Blair served in both Houses of Congress, but were never governor. Blair's brilliant cousin, Benjamin Gratz Brown, reversing the usual order, was first United States Senator and then governor, but never in the House. Gen. John Miller, who served longer as governor of Missouri than any other man, served in the House, but not in the Senate; Gen. Stirling Price, John C. Edwards, Willard P. Hall, Joseph W. McClurg, Thomas T. Crittenden, and Alexander Monroe Dockery were all both governors and Representatives in Congress, but never in the Senate. Trusten Polk and WILLIAM J. STONE were the only two Missourians to go from the gubernatorial chair to the Senate, and in STONE's case there was a period of six years between ending as governor and beginning as Senator. He is the only Missourian to serve as both Representative and Senator in Congress and as governor of his State.

WILLIAM J. STONE was a great Representative, a great governor, and a great Senator. He was one of the most skillful and successful political leaders the State ever had. After a long and stormy career he had attained a sort of suzerainty over the Missouri Democrats. He did not accomplish that difficult feat by brass-band methods or by using a meat ax. He did it by persuasion, by diplomacy, by consultation, and, above all, by being an exceptionally good listener. When he was in St. Louis, Kansas City, Jefferson, St. Joe, or any other city or town in Missouri, the most prominent Democrats called on him in his rooms and consulted with him. That was his favorite method of ascertaining public opinion—his favorite plan of campaign—to converse with small groups of men and out of their various views to determine the best course to pursue. He preferred that way of doing things to large

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and boisterous crowds; and because he did pursue that wise and successful procedure his enemies—and he possessed a large and enthusiastic assortment of them—fastened upon him the sobriquet of "Gum Shoe Bill"—which his friends and admirers, who composed a mighty host, took up and converted into a term of affection.

He was a political strategist of high degree. Two instances will suffice. When he was a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination in a fierce and close contest and Col. Richard Dalton unexpectedly carried St. Louis, STONE immediately appealed to the rural districts and won, after a contest which roused the State to white heat from Des Moines River to Arkansas and from the Mississippi to the mouth of the raging Kaw.

In subsequent bitter contests—and considering what a polite, mild-mannered man he was it is surprising how many bitter contests he had—when the metropolitan press unanimously assailed him with ferocity, he boldly and savagely assailed the metropolitan press, skillfully rallied the rural press to his support, and invariably came out victor. I am inclined to believe that he enjoyed the contests more than he did holding the offices—which assumption, if true, sheds some light on the never-settled old question which we debated when we were boys, "Whether there is more pleasure in pursuit than in possession." He was elected to the House three times, to the governorship once, and to the Senate three times. Notwithstanding the awful storm of vituperation which broke upon him in the later months of his life, I have no sort of doubt that he would have remained in the Senate for 15 years more had he lived so long. Even before his death the storm was receding, and when the great Senator died the love of the generous people of the mighty State which had so often crowned him with her choicest honors and which he had served so long with pride and

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approved capacity returned to him in undiminished measure and augmented intensity. Since the mighty Benton was laid to rest in "The Great City of the Iron Crown" no such splendid funeral pageant did the people of Missouri arrange for any other of her illustrious sons as for Senator STONE.

What manner of man was he? In his prime he was physically the typical Kentuckian—tall, slender, sinewy, lean of flank, high of head. He always reminded me of a Kentucky race horse in his best estate, needing neither whip nor spur to urge him on.

Intellectually he was of a high order. His parents were neither rich nor extremely poor. They were what we in common parlance designate "good livers," and good living in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky is a status to which most folks never attain. In case of his father and mother Agur's prayer seems to have been answered, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." They were, however, able to give their son a university education. During his entire busy life he was a lover of good books and delighted to associate with learned people. He was familiar with the poets, but the books which he studied most were the best of all books—men and women. As a public speaker he stood high, being dowered with logic, wit, humor, sarcasm, and eloquence when he thought eloquence was appropriate to the theme, the occasion, and the place. Some of his speeches were gems, blending in artistic proportions the ingredients aforementioned. He was one of the most deliberate speakers I ever heard, and when in fine fettle it was a delight to listen to him analyze a subject or excoriate an opponent. The dramatic quality he possessed in large degree. His facial mobility was almost equal to Tom Corwin's. His long black forelock, which was forever tumbling into his eyes, was one of his principal properties in public speeches. His deft manipulation of

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that raven forelock was a joy to his friends and an irritation to his enemies. He loathed utterly a double-dealer, a hypocrite, a mountebank, or a liar. He never pretended to be better than he was; he loved his friends, who fully returned his love; and after being the stormy petrel of Missouri for a generation grew ever gentler with increasing years and forgave all his enemies except a very few who had treated him so outrageously and slandered him so maliciously that they had forfeited any claim to forgiveness.

Here is an incident which illustrates his character, his method, and his energy:

It will be remembered that in the early spring of 1911 newspapers began to mention me for the Democratic presidential nomination. The mentioning grew in volume and frequency until by November it was universally discussed in the public press and in private conversation. Senator STONE and I had never been enemies but we had not been intimate friends. It will also be remembered that the public press was also mentioning Gov. Joseph W. Folk very frequently. A more or less active argument was in progress between my supporters and his as to which of us should have the Missouri delegation. In the meantime Senator STONE spoke no word, gave no sign as to which of us he favored, if either. It happened that in the last part of November Dr. Bartoldt's friends gave him a banquet at the Southern Hotel, which he deserved and which he was anxious I should attend—which I did. That afternoon I was out at the home of Judge Virgil Rule, one of my old pupils, three or four miles from the business center of St. Louis. The Judge had invited about a dozen of my friends to be present to consult about starting my campaign. Unexpectedly Senator STONE walked in. The other gentlemen, taking it for granted that he had come to see me, after shaking hands with him adjourned to another room.

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So soon as they disappeared this brief dialogue ensued: Senator STONE said, "Mr. Speaker, I came out to ask you just one question for my own guidance—are you a candidate for President?" I replied, "Senator, men do not announce for President as they do for constable." He answered: "Tell that to the marines. I want to know. I have seen it in the papers. I have seen men who assert that you are a candidate but I never saw any man who said you had told him. I desire to know definitely." I said: "Yes, Senator, I am a candidate." Without another word, he picked up his hat, cane, gloves, and overcoat and went down town. Immediately headquarters were engaged and the fight was on.

From that hour until the announcement was made that Gov. Woodrow Wilson was nominated Senator STONE could not have worked harder for me if he had been my father, brother, and son rolled into one.

He was a delicate-looking man in those days; but the amount of work he did was amazing. I formed a deep affection for the man which will abide with me so long as life lasts. To speak of him is to me a labor of love.

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Address of Mr. Alexander, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Senator Stone's death occasioned the Members of the Missouri delegation in Congress genuine sorrow. He was recognized as a wise counselor and sagacious leader, and was often consulted by his Democratic colleagues on questions affecting the interests of the party, of which he was one of the recognized leaders, and of the great State whose welfare and prosperity always had a large part in his thought and gave him deep concern.

In conference he was always considerate of the opinion of others and most courteous and sympathetic. He was painstaking in his efforts to get the viewpoint of his colleagues, and with rare skill composed differences of opinion and secured unity of action. He was easy of approach, truly democratic in his manners, and I believe I may say of him that he enjoyed the affectionate regard of every Member in the delegation, Democrats and Republicans alike. We one and all deeply deplore his death.

Senator Stone was born in Madison County, Ky., May 7, 1848. His father, William Stone, and his mother, Mildred Phelps, were members of old Kentucky families. The Stone family lived in Virginia prior to moving to Kentucky. Senator Stone's grandfather was one of the pioneers of Kentucky, and it is said of him that he served as the first surveyor of Madison County, and that Thomas Stone, an ancestor of the family, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of a well-known Virginia family.

Madison County, Ky., furnished Missouri two of her most distinguished governors, William Joel Stone and David Roland Francis, and many of Missouri's good citizens in all walks of life were born in Madison County,

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Ky., or are descendants of Madison County stock. In his early youth Senator STONE attended the common schools in his native State. At the age of 15 he moved to Columbia, Mo., and entered the State university. He studied law in the office of his brother-in-law, Col. S. Turner, then and for many years after one of the leading lawyers of central Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1869. Shortly thereafter he moved to Bedford, Ind., where he formed a partnership with one A. B. Carleton, but remained there only a few months, returning to Missouri in 1870 and locating at Nevada, the county seat of Vernon County. He rose rapidly in the affairs of the county and soon became one of the leading members of his community. He was prosecuting attorney of Vernon County for one term (1873–1875) and was a presidential elector on the Tilden and Hendricks ticket in 1876. That was one of the most memorable presidential campaigns following the Civil War, and many a young and spirited lawyer in Missouri got his first baptism in politics in that campaign.

Senator STONE was a Member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses (March 4, 1885–March 3, 1891); declining to make the race for renomination, he announced that he would be a candidate for the governorship to succeed Gov. David R. Francis.

Senator STONE's race for governor brought him into great prominence throughout the State. He won the nomination after a memorable contest, in which Hon. Richard Dalton, of Ralls County, was his chief opponent. Much bitterness was engendered in the campaign, and the Republicans regarded the time opportune to come back into popular favor in Missouri.

The Republicans nominated Maj. William Warner, of Kansas City, as their candidate for governor. Maj. Warner was a veteran of the Civil War and a member of one

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of the leading law firms of Kansas City and was regarded a fine lawyer and a public speaker of rare skill and eloquence. He had been a leader of his party in the State for many years and had enjoyed many political honors. He also held high rank in the Grand Army of the Republic. He was very popular with the Union veterans of the Civil War. The Republicans regarded Maj. Warner as the very strongest candidate they could name to contest with Senator STONE for the governorship of the State. Maj. Warner adopted as his slogan, "Stand up for Missouri"; this slogan was quickly taken up by the Republican leaders over the State and passed on to the rank and file, and coupled with it was the cry, "Poor old Missouri." This cry undertook to picture the plight of the State under the administrations of such distinguished Democratic governors as Silas Woodson, Charles Hardin, John S. Phelps, Thomas P. Crittenden, John S. Marmaduke, Albert Moorehouse, and David R. Francis, than whom no State in the Union ever had more able and efficient chief executives. STONE accepted the issue tendered by the Republicans and contrasted the administrations from Woodson to Francis with the Republican administrations of Govs. McClurg and Fletcher. His speech in opening the campaign was a masterpiece of sarcasm and eloquence, and reviewed with cruel incisiveness the record of McClurg's and Fletcher's administrations. His speech was quickly given wide publicity throughout the State. It was a great speech. The Republicans had planned an aggressive campaign, but soon found themselves on the defensive, and continued so throughout the campaign. It is needless to say Senator STONE was triumphantly elected, along with all his associates on the State ticket.

My only purpose in calling attention to this campaign and Senator STONE's part in it is to emphasize my conviction that that was the turning point in his career. If he

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had proven himself commonplace or had failed in his ability to measure up to the high duties that devolved upon him as the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in that campaign, his career in all probability would have closed with his term as governor. I actively supported Senator STONE for the nomination for governor, and our acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, began in that campaign.

It is interesting to recall that a little more than a decade later Senator STONE and Maj. Warner served as colleagues in the United States Senate, Senator STONE succeeding Missouri's little giant, Senator George G. Vest, in 1903, and Maj. Warner succeeding Missouri's grand old Confederate veteran and statesman, Senator Francis M. Cockrell, in 1905. Whatever asperities the campaign of 1892 engendered when they were pitted against each other for governor had long since been forgotten. They were both chivalrous and lovable men.

Senator STONE was a leader of men. He had a great and devoted following in the State of Missouri. He held a high place in the leadership of the Democratic Party in the Nation. No man ever gave more generously of his time and money and talents to his party than did Senator STONE. The success of his party was ever a matter of the deepest concern to him. He did not seek place and power to enrich himself financially, but as an opportunity for larger service to his party and country. He believed in the principles of the Democratic Party with all the intensity of his nature and that the happiness and prosperity of the people could be best vouchsafed under a Democratic administration. He was a man of great courage. He was an honorable antagonist. He counted among his closest personal friends men with whom he differed widely in politics.

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Just before the entrance of the United States into the war with Germany Senator STONE opposed the armed-neutrality bill. He was charged with filibustering to defeat it. This he denied. The criticism of his action became so bitter that the General Assembly of Missouri, the majority in both branches being Senator STONE's personal and political friends, adopted a resolution demanding support of the President. While Senator STONE was not mentioned in the resolutions by name, it was well understood at the time that they reflected the sentiments of the Democracy of Missouri and what they regarded his duty in the crisis then impending.

Senator STONE's opposition to the declaration of the war with Germany was open and fearless. Although chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate, he declined to take charge of the war resolution as was expected of him by the administration. He transferred his leadership to Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, next ranking Democratic member on the committee. His attitude on those two resolutions was typical of his attitude toward the world war. He believed that America's participation in the war should be avoided if possible, but when the die was cast for war he accepted the decision without further question and took his place with the supporters of the war measures and consistently maintained that attitude until death closed his eventful career.

When we reflect that under the Constitution the power to declare war is vested in the Congress of the United States and not in the Chief Executive, and the responsibility is personal to each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives, we can well understand how any Senator or Representative clothed with such a tremendous responsibility might hesitate to come to a decision involving his country in a war with all its dire con-

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sequences. If Senator STONE had lived and had been a candidate for Senator in 1920 and the people of Missouri had had more time and larger opportunity to analyze his motives and understand the tremendous responsibility from which he shrank, they would have regarded his conduct in a more kindly light, and he might again have won popular favor.

The St. Louis Republic, in an editorial following the death of Senator STONE, said:

> STONE was a master of politics. No one of his generation in this State showed such consummate ability to handle men or mold opinion. He never refused a fight when he thought it necessary, and his victories were for the most part hard won in open contest. He was true to his friends, and to this fact, coupled with an uncanny knack of sizing up a situation and acting vigorously, boldly at the chosen moment, may be attributed his great success as a leader.

Senator STONE's was a long and distinguished career. He held many offices of trust and honor. His life work is ended. He will ever be classed as one of Missouri's most distinguished citizens.

Senator STONE was married to Sarah Louise Winston, April 2, 1874, and his wife and three children—Mrs. John G. Parkinson, of St. Joseph; United States Circuit Judge Kimbrough Stone, of Kansas City; and Miss Mabel Stone—survive him. His domestic life was ideal. He was loved with the deepest affection by his wife and children. To them his death is an irreparable loss.

Eloquent testimony of the high esteem in which Senator STONE was held by the people of Missouri was shown when his remains lay in state at the State capitol at Jefferson City. Rich and poor alike, among whom he had made his home for many years, and leading citizens, in official and unofficial life, from every section of the State assembled to pay a tribute of respect to his memory.

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His last resting place is in the cemetery at the city of Nevada, where he first entered upon the career in which he was destined to become distinguished in after years. Surrounded and mourned by the friends of his early manhood, who had watched his career with affectionate interest and pride, the mortal remains of Senator STONE were given a last resting place in Deepwood Cemetery.

The name and brilliant public career of WILLIAM JOEL STONE will adorn one of the brightest and most interesting chapters in the history of Missouri.

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Address of Mr. Ferris, of Oklahoma

Mr. Speaker: I knew United States Senator William Joel Stone all my life. I lived in southern Missouri and knew him during his public days there. During the early part of it I was a young chap, but I knew him as Congressman, as governor, as Senator, and as man. He played a full part in each rôle. Death always comes too soon, and this is only emphasized as it comes home to us with our families and our friends. The adage is emphasized when it comes home to the life of a man who has spent his entire life in usefulness and activity, and such was the life of Senator Stone. I shall not in the few words I utter here to-day try to place Senator Stone on any unnatural pedestal. If he were in the flesh here this day, it would not be his desire. He spent no time, Mr. Speaker, in eulogistic appeals to his Creator "that he was not as other men," but he preferred to be one of them, to think and act as other men. He was one of men.

It is quite the custom when men are called to that last rest to picture them in some unnatural pose. That would not be Senator Stone's desire. I know of no tribute more beautiful to pay to the memory of a man than to say that he preferred to be as other men and preferred to be one of them, as distinguished from constantly drawing his skirts about him and saying, "I thank God I am not as other men." When I see life ebbing away I am always impressed with the certainty of death and the shortness of the time we may spend here. The thought that is ever uppermost in my mind is that every moment here ought to be spent in some useful endeavor. It ought to increase the ambition to emphasize that thought in the minds of all of us. Senator Stone as Congressman, as governor, and as Senator of the State of my birth honored Missouri

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as Missouri has ever honored him. He honored the Nation and the Nation honored him. He was loved and respected by his friends as no other man in Missouri has been loved and respected.

I have many tender ties for Missouri and Missourians. I was born there, married there, educated there, and cast my first vote there. I have felt it was only proper to say these few words, due to my own acquaintance with Senator STONE, due to my residence in Missouri and my birthplace there. I have been honored by an invitation to pay this short tribute to his memory and in loving remembrance of him as a friend, as a man, and as a statesman. He was true to every trust; he was a man; he was a Missourian; he was an American.

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Address of Mr. Dickinson, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: The life of Senator William Joel Stone was an eventful one, filled with distinguished public service. He was born in Madison County, Ky., on May 7, 1848. He came to Missouri in his early youth, first to Boone County, and attended the University of Missouri, at Columbia, from which institution of learning he was a graduate; and later there was conferred on him by this university the degree of doctor of laws.

In his early manhood he moved to Vernon County, in southwest Missouri, and was admitted to the bar in 1869. He practiced law at Nevada, Mo., and attained high rank in an active practice, winning success by his untiring industry and his marked ability as a lawyer and as a gifted public speaker. He served one term as prosecuting attorney of his county, and afterwards served with conspicuous ability his great district in the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses.

My first acquaintance with William J. Stone was in 1878, at the congressional convention in Carthage, Mo., when he was a candidate for Congress. There were six candidates in that contest. It was a great convention, lasting several days—the field against Charles H. Morgan, the popular sitting Member—resulting in the nomination of Maj. Waddell, of Greene County. Over that convention presided M. E. Benton, a parliamentarian of ability, who afterwards served in Congress for 10 years with distinction.

Several times did Stone contest for a seat in Congress from his district before he was successful. He battled for congressional honors with such men as Morgan, of Barton; Waddell, of Greene; Ferguson, of St. Clair; Bassett, of

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Bates; Salmon, of Henry; De Armond, of Dade, and finally winning in 1882 in a close contest in which the other candidates in the convention were Morgan, Abernathy, and De Armond—all strong men and worthy. Later the gifted De Armond was elected to Congress for 10 consecutive terms and made a great record and a national reputation.

After serving in Congress for three terms WILLIAM J. STONE voluntarily retired and returned to the practice of the law in his home city of Nevada, Mo. Within two years after leaving Congress STONE was nominated, in a notable contest with Richard Dalton as his principal opponent, running as "Farmer" Dalton, for governor of Missouri. Dalton carried the big cities of Missouri with the support of the labor vote, except Kansas City, which had a candidate of its own in the person of Judge James Gibson. WILLIAM J. STONE had more farmer delegates in the nominating State convention at Jefferson City than all the other candidates combined, and was nominated by reason of that support. He bade defiance to the corporation-controlled vote of the great cities and won by reason of his popular strength in the country. He won his election in November by a great majority over Maj. William Warner as his opponent, the popular idol of the Republican Party in Missouri, afterwards United States Senator from Missouri. Maj. Warner opened his campaign at Sedalia, Mo., in a speech widely published and circulated, the text of which, as I recall, was "Stand up for Missouri." The Republican organ of Missouri, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, had rung the changes on "Poor old Missouri" by reason of Democratic rule, and in the shadow of this attack Maj. Warner had taken his text "Stand up for Missouri," charging a need of change of administration by reason of Democratic rule, and putting his seal of ap-

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proval upon the Republican cry of "Poor old Missouri." WILLIAM J. STONE opened his campaign in the city of St. Louis in a speech, the most notable ever made in his public career, and answered every attack of the Republican organ—the Globe-Democrat—and the charges made by his Republican opponent—Maj. Warner—against Democratic rule.

This great speech when made and circulated as a campaign document throughout the State made unnecessary any further campaign, though the usual speaking campaign was conducted to a successful end, using STONE's speech as a text. That speech was a sufficient answer to every attack made upon the State under Democratic administration, as compared with Republican misrule in the days following the Civil War. It was the most masterful address and appeal ever made, in my judgment, to the electorate of the State, and resulted in the triumphant election of this great Missourian, who served his State as governor for four years with conspicuous ability, when he again retired to private life and entered again upon the practice of his profession in the city of St. Louis.

After a brief while he became a candidate for the United States Senate and succeeded the gifted George G. Vest, who had retired after serving his State for four terms with great and distinguished ability—a colleague of Gen. Francis Marion Cockrell, who served as Senator for five terms, or 30 years, with like great ability—a great Democrat of wonderful personal popularity—loved and respected for his great worth and popular service.

Senator STONE was first elected Senator by the Legislature of Missouri in January, 1903, and reelected in 1909, and in 1914, by popular vote, for the term which would have ended on March 4, 1921. In my judgment, if Senator STONE had lived and retained his health he would

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have continued to serve his great State in the Senate of the United States by a reelection at the end of this term, in the middle of which he passed into the great beyond.

He was a worthy successor of Benton and Blair, of Vest and Cockrell, of James S. Green and Waldo P. Johnson, of B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz and John B. Henderson, and the others who filled with honor and distinction that office of high trust—a galaxy of men of merit.

No public man in Missouri ever had a greater personal following of ardent and loyal friends than Senator WILLIAM J. STONE, and they were found in every section of the State, ready to help and sustain him in every contest. He had filled every position of trust with singular ability and with an honesty of purpose that made successful his great public career. He was a successful lawyer, a worthy Representative in Congress, a great governor, the only governor of Missouri since the Civil War elected again to high position. He was a fearless champion of the rights of the people against the domination of selfish corporate interests. He won success against the bitter opposition of corporate power and the attacks of the great press in the great cities. He had no great paper to champion his cause. He knew the people and knew how to arouse them in support of his efforts to win, regardless of the organized opposition that continued to combat him in his great public career. The country press was his organ.

Senator STONE had a great heart. He not only loved his friends and the great State that honored him so often, but his heart beat in sympathy with the masses of the people, whom he loved and trusted and in whom he believed. He loved fair play, he hated hypocrisy, and was incapable of a mean or a small act. He led an honest and courageous life and left an honored name as a rich legacy to his relatives and friends.

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Senator STONE was a man of strong convictions, of great courage, and dared to follow the dictates of his own conscience, regardless of the consequences that might follow. No one doubted his honesty of purpose or the courage of his convictions. He followed the dictates of his own conscience with a courage unsurpassed in the political life of Missouri politics.

I knew Senator STONE well. For nearly 40 years I had been his personal and political friend. I had tried to help him in his struggles for political preferment, for Congress, governor, and Senator. His life was a continual battle. Our relations were close and intimate. He loved his friends and they loved and honored him. They believed in him. He knew men, their strength and their weaknesses. He knew the motives that prompted men to action. He knew the right and dared do it. He feared no man or political interests. He was a leader in his party, State, and Nation, and high in its councils. He helped to make its nominations and its platforms. He wrote its great declarations upon which it went to battle with its political opponents. He believed in the Democratic Party and loved its organization, and believed its success was best for the whole country. He loved his country as ardently as any man, and his great heart almost broke when he saw it involved in a great world war into which he had hoped it would not be drawn. However his friends may have differed with him on any great question, no man ever doubted his honesty or his patriotism.

He was a national character of great ability and power at all times, and his great character and distinguished patriotic services won him the respect and admiration of all who knew him. He was a leader among men. He has passed into the great eternity, mourned by the thousands who knew him and loved him and honored him.

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Thousands came from far and near to see him laid away in his last resting place in the beautiful cemetery in his much-loved city of Nevada, where he had lived, where his multitude of friends had helped him in his ambition to rise to high place in the service of his country. Peace to his ashes. God bless the memory of the much-loved WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

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Address of Mr. Dyer, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Missouri lost a splendid citizen, a great public servant, in the death of Senator Stone. The distinguished Speaker of our House [Mr. Clark], my colleague from Missouri, paid a deserved and a fitting tribute in his address to the life and public service of the Senator.

Senator Stone was very close to the people of Missouri; that was demonstrated by many incidents in his long career. Like other men in public life who take a determined position upon public questions, he had, of course, his opponents in his own party; but, as the Speaker has said, Senator Stone was a man who was not afraid to meet his enemies in the open and who would fight for what he believed to be right.

Probably that came from the fact, alluded to by the Speaker, that the Senator, whose death we mourn to-day and pay tribute to, came from the State of Kentucky. Kentucky furnished to Missouri some of our most splendid citizens, men who have rendered great service. It is true, as the Speaker has said, that Missouri in its early days was made up largely of men and women who came to it from States like Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. I am proud of those men and women who came to Missouri when it needed men and women of strong character and determination and who helped shape its destiny and make it the great State that it now is.

I feel some little personal pride in that myself, from the fact that I am a descendant of some of that stock. My father was born in Virginia and my mother in Kentucky, and I know, from their lives and from the things that they stood for and did, that they believed in everything that was for the best in public and in private life. God bless them, is my prayer.

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So to-day, in paying tribute to those men and those women who came from those States to help make Missouri what it is, I can join not only in paying tribute to the life and public service of our Senator, but also in paying tribute to the other splendid men and women who did so much for our State and to testify anew to my love and affection for my good father and mother, who were a part of that great citizenship.

Senator STONE gave the greater part of his life to the service of the people of Missouri and the people of the Nation. He rendered conspicuous, able, and brilliant service, and, although of a different political party from his, I say most truthfully and candidly that I think Senator STONE was one of the ablest public servants that Missouri has ever had. I feel that we have lost a public servant, and feel privileged to enter in the Record my judgment, as one of the Representatives of Missouri, as to the able public service of Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

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Address of Mr. Booher, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: This occasion arouses within me a renewed sorrow for the loss of a cherished personal friend who permitted none of the many distinctions of a long-honored life of public service to mar or stem the warm current of the trust and affection he gave me. I wish to record here somewhat of my sincere estimate that in his taking away the State and Nation he served have themselves lost no truer friend than in William J. Stone dead, who, living, had no deeper delight and held no higher purpose than to serve them for their happiest advancement and noblest elevation. His experience, his learning, his accomplishments, and his generous heart equipped him for the most eminent trust of our representative manner of government.

Naturally, thinking of him now, my heart turns first to the place and the scenes that form the picture of our friendship's beginning. I came here February 24, 1889, to serve the unexpired term of a deceased Representative, the Hon. James N. Burnes. Here I met the late Senator. Here began the forming of ties which the passing of more than twenty-five years have only enriched and strengthened, such ties of mutual esteem and consideration that now, in these moments of regretful reflection that an ending of all pulsing, responsive friendships is inevitable, I am fain to seek somehow the consolation that recollection affords of the man I loved and who generously gave me the affection I may no longer enjoy. Thus only memory's alchemy may turn the gloom of mourning into golden light.

William Joel Stone, born 70 years ago in Madison County, Ky., began his career as a statesman—destined to become known and honored among America's highest

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and best—more than 35 years ago. It was with the first year of the first Cleveland administration that he started a service of three terms in this House. In its six years he was brought into contact and relation with the most famous representatives of our times. His talents for public service, his gifts and graces of speech and bearing, were such as suffered no depreciation of contact with the qualities of the great men about him. John G. Carlisle was the Speaker of the House, and during Mr. STONE's years there were in this great arena for national heart expression such men as Samuel J. Randall, Sunset Cox, Roger Q. Mills, William R. Morrison, Pig Iron Kelley, John W. Daniel, William P. Hepburn, Charles R. Crisp, David B. Culberson, long gone from the place they illuminated with their fine and lustrous personalities, and with only two scarcely less distinguished happily yet among living American statesmen still in the public service, Knute Nelson of Minnesota and Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois. These great men represented every part of this Nation. Ardently devoted to their several constituencies, they were scarcely less fervent in their loyalty to the all-embracing Federal institution and the first creature of the Constitution, the House of Representatives. But in the expression of these endowments of faith and accomplishments of intellectual enterprise none excelled WILLIAM J. STONE.

In his fertile mentality grew a remarkable variety of capacities for public service and enlightening public instruction. His speeches and conversations on the floor of the House and in the committee conferences were illuminating, persuasive, and so entertaining as always to recall with pleasure. To me it was ever a recollection that made me proud that he was my friend and fellow Missourian. He did honor to the name of his State wherever he went, whether in the public service or as a

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trusted councilor in political party service. He was a Democrat of Democrats in the most Democratic of States. For his expression of himself as such he was especially popular and honored in Missouri. In his participation in the affairs of representative government for all the States of the Union he was no less sincerely and constantly and courageously a Democrat. I do not believe a man has lived since the day of the Father of American Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, the greatest apostle of representative government the world has ever known, whose mind and heart were truer to the rights of humanity than the mind and heart of WILLIAM J. STONE. Like Jefferson, to him the greatest of all liberties was the liberty of mind and conscience to achieve for the individual unrestrained by government the best things possible. In this was he one of the greatest of American Democrats. With all the ardor of a virile, sympathetic nature he was at all times partisan to the principles that exalt the name of Jefferson and which even now shine with new glory in the triumph of the American and allied armies over the implacable foes of democracy.

In the Senate, where he began his service 15 years ago, being at his death in the middle of his third term, the superior scope for intellectual energy afforded by that great body afforded him fit opportunity for the exercise of his conspicuous abilities. His speeches and even his most casual contributions to its adventurous debates are among the most finished ornaments of the Senate's literary record. He touched no subject he did not embellish with the attractive suggestions of a lively imagination bodied forth in the comely raiment of excellent phrase. In the clash of differing views he will be remembered with admiration by his friends and recalled with respect by his adversaries in contention. Partisan as he was, always expectantly looked to as a Democratic leader, his

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loyalty to party at no time in his long public and political career marred his friendships, which were numerous and widely extended. No intellectual divergence of view from his convictions altered the cordiality of his relations with men in any position. Incapable of submerging himself in the presence of political opposition and before the assaults of word and act upon principles he cherished, Senator STONE, like all eminent and forceful Americans, was not without his share of enemies. He was at times the target of bitter criticisms. He rarely gave evidence that they disturbed him except when they brought into question the integrity of his motives. He either bore himself silently erect and serene in the little storms of party weather or countered the blows of condemnation and ridicule with thrusts of wit and ironical allusion that effectually weakened opposition. No one can say that he was ever worsted in debate or his resourceful capacity depreciated in any controversy.

Senator STONE's main activities in the Senate were as member of two of its most important committees, Finance and Foreign Relations. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee he held a parliamentary post for which he was peculiarly and preeminently fitted. It had of all committees the most vital relations with the great question of the world war. When the history of that war in its domestic aspect here and its political incidents and effects shall have been truly told it will be seen, I have not the slightest doubt, that in the haste of excited judgments of the war period Senator STONE was sometimes unjustly assailed for what was incorrectly represented as his attitude. He truly represented that large body of sane Americans who are averse to war and would endure much within honor to avoid quarrels that mean death and crippling to countless numbers of human beings. But I shall not attempt to go any further into the story of Sena-

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tor STONE's share in the final determination of the United States to enter the war. Being in, he cast his entire lot of mind and heart into the issue. The most impartial historian will do him due justice. He will be found, I am confident, to have been far more consistent and intellectually righteous than many who held high places and agreed with him in his reluctance to join the war who afterwards became the foremost zealots in its prosecution. He turned all the rare gifts of his nature to the support of his country's cause, ever with the constant prayer for victory breathing with his presence in all company.

I have said that Senator STONE in his congressional service touched no subject he did not embellish. It is a truth that will stand forth freshly with every examination of the part he bore in public discussions. His contributions more than adorned debate. They had a practical strength and an aptness of suggestion which were invaluable aids to constructive legislation. I cite a single instance of this rare equipment for the most exalted public service as afforded in the Senate. It occurred but a little while before his death. A man of comparatively frail physical structure, he was more constantly energetic and punctual at the post of duty than very many stronger men. The Senate was discussing the final shaping of the railway administration bill. Then there arose through Senator STONE's quick apprehension of a demand of public interest sure to come with the future, and which we observe has already come in the present conjectures, as to the disposition of the railroads. He interpolated an exhaustive speech on the bill by Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, with a question as to the interpretation of one of the concluding clauses of the bill—section 24. This was its language:

> That this article is expressly declared to be emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of war; and nothing herein is to be construed as expressing or prejudicing the

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future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control, or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof.

As he put the question, Senator STONE said:

I have an apprehension that when we come out of it we will be faced with one or two alternatives, namely, the taking over of the railroads into absolute Government ownership, or a capitalization of the railroads in order to protect the vast interests involved, and in order that these great transportation lines may be conducted with the greatest possible efficiency in the public interest.

The apt question elicited from the distinguished Ohio Senator an important response. Observing the presence in the committee handling the bill a variety of views, Mr. Pomerene said:

The bill as presented originally provided that Government control should continue during the war and until otherwise directed. That of itself, in the judgment of some of the members of the committee, had a suggestion of continued future Government ownership. It is perfectly clear by the enactment of this law the Congress would not be committing itself to any of these policies which might have been in the minds of Senators.

And, finally, Mr. Speaker, I would not close this inadequate tribute to the worth of my great friend in his great public service without giving another instance of his lofty regard for duty. That, too, was but a short time before his voice was no longer to be heard among men. I refer to that occasion as of profound historic significance and one whose meaning is more strikingly evident at this time than at any period within our history since the founding of our Republic. It was last year, February 21. Reference having been had to the method of procedure in the Senate on the next day, with the customary reading of Washington's Farewell Address, Senator STONE objected to any other course than adjournment immediately after

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the reading of the address. Another Senator remarked that it was the rule for the Senate on such occasions to proceed with ordinary business after such reading.

The Missouri Senator solemnly advised the Senate that it was indulging a "poor compliment" to the greatest of all Americans, that then of all times the address should be read and pondered anew in all the matchless wisdom of its admonitions. Plainly, obviously, he referred to that part of Washington's Farewell Address in which he warned his fellow countrymen for all time against "the insidious wiles of foreign influence," advising them to keep the faith of present engagements but to enter upon no entangling alliance which would commit us to participate in the settlement of Europe's quarrels.

I believe that when the historic occasion recurs in the two Houses this month on the birthday of him who gave to his people that immortal counsel, millions and millions of American people as they note the reading of his words again in Congress will stand where Senator STONE stood last year, revering Washington and still first in the hearts of his countrymen. That reminder by the Missouri Senator was a noble climax to a highly honorable and long honored career.

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Address of Mr. Hamlin, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Senator Stone was considerably my senior in years, but it was my privilege to know him well for about 25 years. I greatly admired his splendid ability and his many admirable qualities of mind and heart. I believe that he was as nearly unselfish as any man whom I have known and who was so long in public position.

During his active, busy life he held public office about 26 years, each commission being issued to him as the result of the will of his people expressed through the ballot.

He was prosecuting attorney of his county, Representative in Congress from his district, governor of his State, and United States Senator from Missouri, and which position he held at the time of his death.

He was politically a militant, but he always fought fairly. He never conducted a political trench or submarine warfare. He went forth to battle in the open, panoplied in what he believed was a just cause, and it was always a fight to a finish. He neither asked for nor gave quarter.

Like all such characters, he had the most loyal friends and the bitterest possible enemies. He bore many scars received in battle for the principles of Democracy, to which he was thoroughly wedded. His contests were numerous, but it may be said of him that he never lost a battle. In other words, he stood as the candidate of his party many times before the people who knew him and went to his death without a single defeat. I have heard him praised and I have heard him condemned, but I have never heard any man question either his courage, his loyalty to a friend, or his integrity.

He followed faithfully and unerringly the star of Democracy which Thomas Jefferson hung in the political

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firmament. He never apologized for his position or hesitated to announce his creed upon all proper occasions. A few years ago a friend of mine and an ardent admirer of the late Senator told me an exceedingly interesting story which illustrates the manner of man that he was:

All Missourians remember distinctly that just before the close of the Civil War all persons who were even suspected of sympathizing with the Southern cause were disfranchised, and I might say, in the minds of the ultra-Unionist, to be a Southern sympathizer was equivalent to being a Democrat, and under radical rule in Missouri all such were disfranchised, but about the year of 1872, in a limited way, the restrictions were removed and they were permitted to again participate in politics in Missouri. A friend told me that at that time down in southwest Missouri, where the feeling was extraordinarily bitter in a county which had theretofore been Democratic, he and others concluded to try to reorganize their party for the coming campaign. They conceived the idea of having an old-fashioned barbecue and announced that it was for the purpose of getting all Democrats together and have some prominent man of that political faith address them. They made the announcement, but were immediately notified by the opposition that such a meeting could not be pulled off in that county; that no man could come there and make a Democratic speech and get away alive. However, the committee went on with their arrangements. I remember distinctly that he told me that they wrote Gov. Phelps, who for 18 years represented a district in Congress and resigned his seat here to take charge of a regiment in the Civil War on the side of the Union, but who, nevertheless, was an ardent Democrat at all times, and was afterwards one of Missouri's great governors, but for some reason he declined to come. They then extended an invitation to another very prominent citizen of Spring-

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field, also a gallant Union soldier and Democrat, Capt. McAfee, but he, too, declined the invitation.

The time for their barbecue was drawing near and they had promised to have somebody there to make a speech and they felt they must make good their promise, and in their dilemma some one made the following suggestion: "I understand there is a young lawyer over here at Nevada by the name of STONE, who is a Democrat and who, I am told, makes a splendid speech. Let us invite him." It was Hobson's choice—there was nothing else to be done, so that was agreed to and the invitation was accordingly sent. There were no telephones or telegraph lines or railroads, for that matter, through that section of the country at that time, but they sent an invitation by mail and received a prompt reply, accepting it. The committee immediately announced that WILLIAM JOEL STONE, of Nevada, would be present and make a speech on the occasion of the barbecue. Very promptly they were waited upon by a delegation, self-appointed, perhaps, who served notice upon them that neither this man or no other man, for that matter, could make a Democratic speech on that occasion and get away alive. He told me that it was the prevailing custom at that time for men to go armed continually in that county. Human life was regarded as almost worthless. The committee finally became convinced that these "rough necks" meant just what they said, but they did not reach that conclusion until it was too late to notify this young lawyer not to come.

None of them had ever seen STONE. But they knew he would have to come across the country in a buggy. And I may say here that the place at which he was to speak was some 30 or 40 miles from where Senator STONE lived. They knew the road he would come in on, and they concluded to watch for him and meet him at the edge of the town and notify him that it would be worth his life to try

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to make a speech there on that day, and explain to him that he could drive in through and around the town and could reach again the road over which he had come and go back home, and that then they would announce at the proper time that the speaker for some reason did not show up. They watched for him and met him when he came to town and explained fully the situation to him. This crowd of rough necks were there, armed to the teeth and "tanked up" on native liquor and swearing that no man could make a Democratic speech on that occasion and live. My friend said that when they explained the matter to STONE and told him that they were sorry not to have been able to get him notice not to come, but how he could get on through town and back home, inasmuch as nobody knew him, none would suspect he had ever been there; but he said STONE looked at them for a moment and said "Did you not invite me over here to make a speech to-day?" "Yes." "Well," he said, "I am here. "But," they said, "we can not afford to let you speak. These fellows swear they will kill you, and they will." He said, "Gentlemen, I was invited to come here to-day to make a Democratic speech, and," with an adjective that he usually employed under such provocation, said "I am here, and I am going to make that speech." "But," they said, "you can not afford to make it; it is too dangerous. But if you are determined to make a speech here to-day talk about something else—other than politics." He said, "I will make my own speech."

This man told me that at the proper time STONE went upon the platform and that this crowd that had said he should not speak, and who were drunk and armed to the teeth, rushed up menacingly in front of him. STONE stood and looked at them for a moment and then proceeded to denounce them as arrant cowards; told them what he had been informed they had threatened to do, and defied them

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to do their worst. He said: "You have not the courage to do what you said you would. I am here to make a Democratic speech and, by the eternal, I am going to make it."

My friend told me that he had heard STONE many times since make many bitter Democratic speeches, but that he had never heard him make one quite so bitter as the one he made on this occasion. Those fellows who had said that he should not speak and live gradually slunk away, one at a time, until every one of them had gone, and when STONE had finished there was not one of them in sight.

I speak of this to show the courage of the man. He was not afraid of anything.

He grew to be wise beyond his day and generation. From the time that I first began to take an interest in politics he was my political mentor.

Shortly after he was nominated for governor of his State it was my privilege, as a young Democrat, to be one of the speakers at a banquet given in his honor in my city. From that time on, especially, I knew him well. I met him in court as opposing counsel after he retired as governor. I entered this House for the first time as a Member on the same day that he entered the Senate for the first time.

Innumerable times during these years I have gone to him for counsel and advice and I never came away empty handed. I did not at all times agree with him on all public questions, but I always greatly respected his opinions. In his death I lost a friend, our party a great leader, and his country an aggressive patriot. May his ashes rest in peace.

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Address of Mr. Hensley, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: We have met here to-day to bear our humble tribute to the many excellencies of character possessed and service rendered his country by the late Senator William Joel Stone during his life.

The history of Senator Stone and the facts concerning his life have been detailed by others more beautifully than I can hope to give them. As has been recited, he was born in Kentucky and reared in Missouri. He was educated in the University of Missouri, graduating from that institution, after which time he located in Nevada, Vernon County, Mo., for the practice of his profession, that of law. I desire here to say that with the great ability possessed by Senator Stone, had he continued in his profession practicing law with the same energy and continuous effort that he put forth in serving the people in public office, he would have soon been one of the very leading attorneys at the bar in his State and Nation, and he would have acquired a goodly share of this world's goods. But he chose public office instead, and he early in life was elected to the Congress of the United States. After serving here in this historic body for six years he retired voluntarily. Soon after his retirement from Congress he was nominated and elected governor of Missouri, after a very spirited fight both for the nomination and the election. As governor he never hesitated to take his stand with the people and against those desiring special favors at the hands of his administration. Assailed many times, yet undaunted, he stood as a mountain among small hills, like a great oak in the forest, giving no heed to the abuse of those who maligned him. The poisoned shafts of the slanderer fell broken at his feet. He gave the people of the State a fair and honest administration. Going out of the governor's office he resumed the practice of law, but he soon reentered public life and was elected to represent

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the grand and glorious State of Missouri in the Senate of the United States, in which body he was serving his third term when stricken unto death. For many years he was one of the foremost Democrats and statesmen in our country, and in every station in life to which he was called he graced it with great ability, courage, and manhood. His career was a most brilliant one.

I am glad to say that I counted Senator STONE as my friend; in fact, he was the friend of every worthy individual wherever he happened to be, as well as the friend of every worthy enterprise. He was in deed and in truth the friend of humanity, for his every act testified to the feeling that he bore toward the great body of our people. In my judgment, there never lived a man more thoroughly in love with his country and his kind than Senator STONE. Patriotic and courageous, a partisan in politics in the sense that he believed that parties were necessary for the perpetuity of our Government and our institutions, he was ready and willing at all times, if necessary, to sacrifice his very political life for his convictions. I very well recall, a good many years ago, how he took his political life in his hands when he assailed with all the vigor he possessed certain corporate interests of Missouri, because he thought they were insidiously seeking to get control of his party.

True manly courage can not exist without honor and integrity; in fact, courage is a child of honor. One can not exist without the other. There never was any inquiry as to whether he would stand by his convictions on any question, however momentous and however perilous to him. We need more of such men. That is the stuff out of which martyrs are made. Any person can go with the current, but for one to battle against the current, to go amidst the frowning, hissing, and jeering crowd who are drifting the other way it takes courage and manhood.

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I recall very distinctly one occasion when I was in his office, only a few months before he was stricken down. We were discussing the course being pursued by another person in public life, and I said, "Senator, he is rendering a great service to the people, but he will never get any credit for it, because the people will not understand it." He replied, with emphasis, "My boy, it makes little difference whether the people give you credit or not; be true and render service, though they may never appreciate it. My only thought now, during this hour of my country's crisis, is to do my whole duty by my people without regard to its effect upon me." So I say, Mr. Speaker, that the people who go to make up the body of our great and glorious country lost a true and noble friend in the death of Senator STONE. They lost a friend who did not count the cost when it came to serving them. The shells of slander and abuse when bursting all around him affected his course none whatsoever. He preferred to be right to anything else. He never bid for the applause of the truculent hirelings of the special interests of the country; and if his true worth could be portrayed, his diligent efforts in behalf of the people understood, even up to the time that he was stricken while riding on a street car here in Washington, there would be erected in the minds and hearts of the great masses throughout our country a monument that would endure as long as courage, as manhood, and as patriotism is prized by man.

Senator STONE will be missed in Missouri; he will be missed in the Nation. The country sustained a loss in his death, an irreparable loss. He was one of the most human men I ever met, full of humanity, sympathy, and love. He was never so busy that he could not give one a patient hearing, and he was always ready to render helpful service to the needy one. We all lost a friend when Senator STONE died, and his family lost a patient, kind, and loving parent and companion.

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Address of Mr. Rubey, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: More than 40 years have passed since the Members of this House have been assembled to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of a Missouri Senator. On September 20, 1877, Lewis V. Bogg, then a United States Senator, died while serving his first term, and since that time no Member of that body from Missouri has died while in office until April 14, 1918, when William J. Stone, then serving his third term, passed away. Missouri during her little less than 98 years of statehood has had 26 Senators, 4 of whom have died while in office. Besides those already mentioned, Stone and Bogg, the third and fourth Senators, Alexander Buckner and Lewis F. Linn, passed away while in office. Buckner served only a little more than 2 years, while Linn served nearly 15 years.

I trust that it will not be considered inappropriate if I briefly touch upon some facts and incidents of history relating to the long line of illustrious men who have occupied seats in the "upper House" from the great Commonwealth I have the honor to represent in part in the "lower House" of Congress.

During the early years of her statehood the people gave to their Senators long tenure of office. For 35 years she was represented by only six men; two of these died in office; otherwise the number would have been less. From 1855 to 1881 no man succeeded himself in office, with the single exception of John B. Henderson, who was appointed to succeed Trusten Polk in 1862 and who subsequently was elected to fill out his unexpired term and reelected for a full term. Henderson's length of service was a little over 7 years. During this brief period of 26 years no less than 15 men occupied seats in the United States Senate from Missouri. With the reelection of Francis Marion Cockrell in 1881 the people returned to

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their former custom of giving long service to the faithful; and, as if to emphasize that fact, they reelected Senator Cockrell four times, giving him 30 years, a record equaled only by Thomas H. Benton. To be exact, Senator Cockrell's service exceeded that of Thomas H. Benton several months, due to the fact that while Benton was elected in 1820 Missouri was not admitted until August 21, 1821. The shortest term of service was that of David F. Jewett, who was appointed to fill a vacancy and who served from December 19, 1870, to January 21, 1871, a period of one month and one day. He had a close second, however, in James Shields, who was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Lewis V. Bogg and served from January 24, 1879, to March 4, 1879, one month and eight days. Only one of Missouri's Senators has ever resigned. That was Charles D. Drake, who resigned to accept the appointment of chief justice of the Court of Claims. Two of our Senators were foreign born—Carl Schurz, who was born in Germany, and James Shields, who was born in Ireland. Schurz, after representing the State in the United States Senate, became a member of President Hayes's Cabinet and later located in New York City, where he became a very distinguished editor and author. Shields had the very great distinction of representing three States in the United States Senate. First Illinois, then Wisconsin, and, last but not least, Missouri. David R. Atchison is the only Missourian who has had the distinction of serving as President of the United States. He was President pro tempore of the Senate on Sunday, March 4, 1849; and as Gen. Taylor was not sworn in until March 5, Atchison for one brief day was President of this great Republic.

WILLIAM J. STONE, in honor of whose memory we meet to-day, was the twenty-fourth Senator from Missouri. In length of service he was exceeded only by Senators Cockrell, Benton, and Vest. Elected in 1903, reelected in

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1909, and again in 1914, the last time by popular vote, he was just entering the sixteenth year of service at the time of his death.

The old State of Kentucky has been very generous to Missouri. She has furnished us with some of our most distinguished citizens, among them Senator STONE. He came to the State early in life and was educated there, graduating from the university at Columbia. Every official position he ever occupied came to him as the result of the confidence and esteem in which he was held by Missourians—prosecuting attorney, Member of the House of Representatives, governor, United States Senator. Remarkable career, one of which any man might well be proud. In every position, from county attorney to the exalted position of United States Senator, he served his people with fidelity and distinction. Of all Missouri's distinguished governors, Senator STONE is the only one ever elected to the United States Senate after serving a full term as governor. Trusten Polk was inaugurated governor and in a few days was elected to the Senate, while B. Gratz Brown was elected governor after having first served in the United States Senate.

My acquaintance with Senator STONE began in 1892, when he made his memorable campaign for governor of Missouri. His opponent in that race, Hon. William Warner, attacked the record of the Democrats and selected as his slogan "Poor old Missouri." Mr. STONE accepted the challenge, defended the Democratic record in Missouri, took as his watchword "Grand old Missouri," and from one end of the State to the other proclaimed the greatness and the glory of that splendid Commonwealth, of which some one has written:

> The winds of heaven never fanned,
> The sparkling sunlight never spanned,
> The borders of a better land
> Than this our own Missouri land.

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That remarkable campaign of 1892 added to the luster of STONE as an orator, won for him the governorship, firmly established him in the affections of his people, and eventually made him United States Senator.

In his political speeches Senator STONE was unselfish; he always talked for the "other fellows" rather than for himself. In every campaign he ever waged he never lost sight of his associates on the Democratic ticket, and each one of them received from him strong words of praise and commendation. No man I have ever known was truer to his friends than he. He firmly believed in and faithfully practiced the sentiment—

> The friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
> But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new-hatched unfledged comrade.

Of Senator STONE it may be truly said, "He died in harness." On the way to the Capitol, where he was to have made a speech in the Senate, he was stricken. He lingered in a semiconscious state only a few days. Once in a while he would revive, and in those moments he would insist that he must go to the Senate, that he was expected to speak, and that he must be there ready to do his duty.

He died, I am sure, as he would have desired could he have been consulted. There was no long and lingering sickness full of pain and consequent suffering of sympathizing loved ones powerless to give relief. On the contrary, after an illness of only a few days, surrounded by his devoted wife, son, and daughters, he peacefully breathed his last and passed to the great beyond. That his going brought sincere sorrow and mourning to the great hosts of faithful friends was manifest on the return of the body to Missouri. From the time the funeral train crossed the Father of Waters—the Mississippi River—and reached

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Missouri soil until the very end of the journey, at every place where a stop was made the train was met by vast crowds of people. At St. Louis, the first stop, that great, magnificent station could not begin to accommodate the friends who were there to pay their tribute of respect. The vast throng lined up on either side of the long platform and stood with bowed and uncovered heads as the body was borne from the train. Tears flowed down their cheeks, giving mute and unmistakable evidence of the sadness which filled their hearts. The next stop was made at Jefferson City, the State capital, where the body lay in state in the rotunda of that magnificent new statehouse so recently erected upon the bluff of the Missouri River. On this historic spot had stood the old capitol building in which for four years Senator STONE had served as governor. The new capitol, erected at a cost of nearly $4,000,000 to replace the old one destroyed by fire a few years ago, was just being completed, and Senator STONE's body was the first of Missouri's distinguished dead to lie in state there. The casket containing his remains was placed in the great rotunda, in the recess formed by the great winding stairways leading to the floors and galleries above. It was banked with the most beautiful array of flowers I have ever looked upon—tokens of love, affection, and esteem sent from far and near. All day long there was a constant stream of people passing the bier of Missouri's distinguished Senator. They came from everywhere; nearly every county was represented. Old men, with the weight of years showing in their tottering footsteps and their whitened hair, paused and looked upon the face of the dead, wiped the tears from their eyes, and with saddened countenances and throbbing hearts passed on. These were the friends of other days—men who had known him, honored him, and stood by him in the days gone by, and who now came to look for the last time upon

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the face of their friend and pay to him this last mark of their affection and esteem for him. Men and women passed by the thousands. The children came from the public schools; the business men closed their doors and came to pay honorable tribute to the dead. No one who viewed this truly wonderful scene at Jefferson City can for a moment doubt the esteem and love of the people of Missouri for this man who had served them in the threefold capacities of Congressman, governor, and United States Senator.

The funeral train left the capital at night, arriving at Nevada, Mo., early the following morning. Here again we were met by vast crowds of people who came from the surrounding counties. This was the old home of Senator STONE. Here it was he began his political career. Here it was we were to meet his old-time friends, those who had known him from his early manhood. The manifestations of sincere grief and sorrow shown both at the funeral and at the grave told the story of their affection for this distinguished man far more eloquently than it can possibly be related by me. Home! He was back home again; he had taken his last earthly journey and had come back to make his final resting place near his old home. We laid him to rest in the beautiful cemetery at Nevada. There in the silent city of the dead he rests to-day, surrounded by friends and loved ones who have gone before and where he will be joined in the days to come by other loved ones and other friends who must so surely follow.

The body of WILLIAM J. STONE, all that is mortal of him, lies out there in that cemetery; the grass will grow green above his grave, the flowers will bloom, the birds will sing their carols in the trees; friends and relatives will come to visit that grave, to spread flowers upon it, and to water them with their tears; in time, no doubt, friends and admirers will erect a suitable monument, so that future

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generations may know that the body of a distinguished statesman and citizen lies buried there. WILLIAM J. STONE is not there; his immortal spirit took its flight when the breath left the body. He has gone to meet his reward in the great beyond. On that bright day in April, nearly a year ago, his immortal spirit winged its flight—

> To that mysterious bourn
> From which no traveler returns.

And to friends and loved ones who put their trust in Him "Who doeth all things well" there comes that sweet consolation:

> We'll meet thee and we'll greet thee
> On the never ending shore;
> We'll dwell with thee in glory,
> To be parted nevermore.

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Address of Mr. Igoe, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: My personal and intimate relationship with Senator Stone began only with my election to Congress. When I took my seat here in March, 1913, I had known him only in a general way and by reputation, as everyone in Missouri had known him up until that time.

I think the outstanding things in his character were his courage and his honesty. He rendered great service as a Member of this House, as governor of the State of Missouri, as Senator, and also in private life.

Members have spoken of his courage, and there is one thing I recall as a boy that he did in Missouri, that required as much courage as was ever displayed by a public man at any time, and that was when, in the State of Missouri, some people undertook to set up a sort of religious persecution. It took courage for a man in public life to denounce it, but Senator Stone had no hesitation whatever in going from one end of the State to the other denouncing the movement as un-American, unfair, and a disgrace to the State.

There is no man, in my judgment, in the Democratic Party who is entitled to more credit for the success of the legislative program of the Democratic Party in Congress since 1913 than Senator Stone. He was a leader and a worker. He worked day and night as a member of committees of the Senate and he labored with the members of his party. He worked to make a record for the administration and carry out the promises that his party had made. He fought for his party; he believed in his party; and he fought for it because he thought it was an instrumentality through which the wishes of the majority of the people might best be carried out, and thus preserve the Government which we all love.

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There are very few people, outside of Members of Congress who served with him, who know how devoted Senator STONE was to the duties of his office. He did not spare himself, and though at times in recent years his health was impaired he did not slacken his efforts, but devoted his entire time to legislative matters, working far into the night. No one who came to his office for advice or assistance was turned away and all were made to feel welcome. It was marvelous how a man so busy could find time to receive so many callers and give them his aid in satisfying their wants.

I had occasion many times in the last few years of his life to go to him for advice and assistance and talked to him in confidence when these great issues came upon us. Immediately preceding the war and the declaration of war itself I had occasion to meet him and to discuss matters with him. He never undertook, in my judgment, to lead any man along any course nor did he undertake to persuade them from doing what they conceived to be right and proper, and in all the criticisms that have been visited upon him for the course that he took it seems to me that the men who are most bitter never did understand the greatness of his character nor the greatness of his love of his country. There is no man who ever served in this Congress who had a greater love for his country than did Senator STONE. Mr. Speaker, I hope that in the time to come that he will be remembered for what he was, a great American, a great Senator, a courageous man, and one who wished to serve the people who were generous enough to select him to speak for them. Mr. Speaker, we have lost a friend and the Nation has lost an able, honest, and courageous statesman.

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Address of Mr. Knutson, of Minnesota

Mr. Speaker: It was not my privilege to know the late Senator Stone intimately, but for years I had been an admirer of his strong and fearless personality, having read much of him in the press and in congressional proceedings, and anyone who has followed the career of that strong and forceful man can not but feel that in his death the whole Nation, as well as the State of Missouri, has lost a public servant who could be illy spared at this time. Rugged and honest, he was a type of man that is all too uncommon in these trying times. I do not believe that he ever stopped to think of personal consequences when he took up cudgels for a cause which he believed to be right. With the light of battle in his eyes he would go into the fray without hesitation and without fear, thoroughly armed with facts which were in the main incontrovertible. I have seen him stand as a lion at bay in the Senate of the United States hurling defiance at his opponents, striking right and left without regard to anything but the cause of truth and justice. Big hearted and loyal to his friends, it was inevitable that they should be legion and his enemies not a few. In the heat of battle he would throw aside the garb of partisanship and stand erect in the forensic arena dealing blows that struck home. He despised cant and hypocrisy; he detested falsehood and deceit. During the last few years of his life he shone with exceptional luster. He often disagreed with the lines of policy laid down by the titular head of his party, and we all recognize that it takes courage of the highest order to disagree politically with those who hold the destinies of others in the hollow of their hand. When he died the great and silent people of this country lost a stanch friend and faithful servant.

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Missouri has been singularly fortunate in her representation in the Congress of the United States—Thomas H. Benton, Champ Clark, and many, many others, living and dead, whom I might mention. All have served her faithfully and well—none more so than WILLIAM J. STONE, patriot, statesman, and friend and champion of the common people.

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Address of Mr. Decker, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: I desire to pay my tribute, with the rest of my colleagues, to that great Missourian whom we all honored and whom we all loved, Senator Stone. It would be almost impertinent for me to try to analyze his character and his history, because he was in public life as long or longer than I have been in this world. His career in public life began about the time that I was born. I did not know him when he was a Representative in Congress from the district which I have the honor now to represent. I did not know him when he was governor of Missouri. I am not familiar personally with all the storms and contests in Missouri through which he passed. My first acquaintance with him which could in truthfulness be called intimate began after my election to this high body.

To speak of his ability is unnecessary. It has never been disputed; it has never been questioned, either in Missouri or in the United States. But I do want to speak of the thing which to me stands out preeminently above every other characteristic which this great man possessed. Champ Clark, the beloved Missourian, has said that—

> No man is fit to be a lawgiver for a mighty nation who yields to the demands and solicitations of the few who may have access to his ear but is unmindful of the vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face.

When the things which Champ Clark has said on history, when the things said about him as the beloved Speaker of this House and leader of Democracy have been forgotten, that one utterance of his, in my humble opinion, will make him live in history. For it is as true to-day, as it has always been, that the pen is mightier than the sword. No man is fit to be a lawgiver of a mighty nation who

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yields to the demands and solicitations of the few who may have access to his ear but is unmindful of the vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face. In that brief sentence you find the guiding star of Missouri's great Senator, WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

And why avoid the question? We are all friends here to-day, are we not? You know to-day when you mention the name of Senator STONE you do not think of him as Representative, you do not think of him as prosecuting attorney of one of the great counties of my district, you do not think of him as governor, you do not think of him as Senator; you think of him and the part he played in the great struggle of all the world that has just been brought to a termination. This is not the time nor place to discuss whether Senator STONE was right or wrong. But to me it would be a mockery, to me it would be a sham, if I stood here in this great legislative Hall to-day and was silent as to the great part he played in that titanic struggle. The majority will say that he was wrong. Let him who can weigh the value of a human life and a human career and then multiply it by 50,000—to say nothing of the courses which lie ahead of our great Nation—let him who can measure human life say, with dogmatic and arrogant authority, that our great Senator from Missouri was wrong. But whether or not you can say in your heart that he was wrong in what he did, you can not deny that he thought he was right; and in this solemn hour when his colleagues in public life pay tribute to his memory I dare to stand and resent to all the world the slander, the villification, the abuse that was heaped upon him from the public press and from the rostrum and from the pulpit of my country for doing with courage the things that he thought were right.

I pay tribute to the men who followed the different course, which they thought right. It took courage for

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them to do different from what Senator STONE thought should be done. But in this solemn hour when we pay tribute to this great man, who sleeps the last long sleep in the peaceful country churchyard in the district which I have the honor to represent, I dare to proclaim anew the doctrine that any man who sits in the Senate of the United States from Missouri and does not on every question, especially the vital question of peace or war, do what he thinks is right is a traitor to Missouri and is unworthy of the senatorial toga of that great State.

And so it was that in the last hours of his eventful life, with the marks of age taking hold of him, when his feet were close to the river's brink, his heart became more mellow, his feelings for those who opposed him more gentle, his infinite patience and kindness to his fellow men, as it seemed to me, increased. But, thanks be to God, who giveth the victory, there was no diminution of his lionlike courage and of his ability to fight for what he thought was good for old Missouri and for the people, high or humble, of the United States. He went down as a true Senator from Missouri—went down not with feebleness, not with faltering, but with the courage of a man who realizes the dignity of his office and the solemnity of the responsibilities imposed upon him.

Sleep on, brave Senator from Missouri! You followed the even tenor of your way in the last hours of your life, when I knew you well. You followed it imperturbed by the tempests of prejudice and passion which raged about you, unshaken by the storm of villification and abuse that beat over your aged head. Your heart to the very last was kindly and loving and affectionate for the people of Missouri and the people of the world, and even for those who abused and misunderstood you.

History will be written some day. How high a place you will have on that page I do not know, brave Senator

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from Missouri. But this I do know: That when the storms of misrepresentation, when the blasts of prejudice and misunderstanding, have passed and gone, the people of Missouri and the people of this country will pay just appreciation to you as a great man who in the last hours of his life lived up to Missouri's traditions and did what he thought was right.

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Address of Mr. Romjue, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: There has been so much said this afternoon in memory of Senator Stone, of Missouri, and it has been so well said that I feel impelled not to speak at length.

When we consider the life and character of Senator William Joel Stone, of Missouri, we find ourselves attracted to those elements within him which marked him as a man, a citizen, and a statesman of unusual proportions.

In what I shall say to you this afternoon in his memory will not be said with any pretense or claim to his perfection, for he, like you and I and all of us, was human.

But on the 14th day of April last, when the last spark of life, so far as this world is concerned, expired or took its flight from his bosom, there was stilled forever upon the stage of worldly affairs a heart, a brain, a body which had throbbed and thought and worked for his fellow man.

I shall never forget the time when I first saw and heard Senator Stone. It was during his campaign for governor of Missouri. I was a boy in my teens.

A big political meeting was held in the county seat of my home county of Macon. The day was designated as the three governors' day. Gov. Horace Boies, the then Democratic governor of Iowa, was there; Hon. David R. Francis, then governor of Missouri, was there; and Senator Stone, then an aspirant for the governorship of Missouri, was in attendance.

It was a clear, bright day. The political contest between Senator Stone and Maj. William Warner was getting at fever heat.

This campaign took place at a time when partisanship ran higher than it does to-day in political contests.

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It was a time when the Democrats and Republicans of Missouri followed with intense enthusiasm the leadership of their party candidates. The people were intensely interested in the issue of the campaign and in the success of their chosen party leader.

In the early forenoon thousands of people, coming for many miles, had assembled. It was unquestionably the greatest political gathering that had ever been held before or after that day in that county.

Political badgering often took place in campaigns of that time.

Senator STONE had just reached the climax in a masterful speech, enunciating and defending the principles and issues upon which his party was waging the campaign, which issues, from his party's standpoint, had just shortly prior in this community been assailed by his political opponent, Maj. Warner.

The meeting of the issue by Senator STONE was received with such unanimous and generous approval of the audience that it rankled in the breast of one listener, who was almost alone of his kind.

This man arose in the midst of the audience and began to announce his faith in the political party to which Senator STONE was opposed. It was apparent at once that the fellow was intoxicated, for which no one was responsible except the man himself and those who had manufactured and sold the beverage to him. Addressing Senator STONE, he said:

> I recall from the Good Book that it is written that at a very important time and a very important place a celestial rolled "The stone away." On election day I propose to help Maj. Warner roll "A stone away."

Senator STONE quickly seized the situation and said:

"My good friend, you will have to take more of 'Warner's Safe Cure' before you will be able to roll this STONE away."

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Of course the retort, as might be expected under the circumstances, was received by the vast audience quite naturally.

I desire to say this of Senator STONE: In his prime, when he was at that period of life when his body was much stronger than it was in the latter days of his life, I do not hesitate to say that for political vision and foresight he was not excelled anywhere throughout the entire United States. Senator STONE had a combination of combativeness and a tact for conciliation rarely found in any man. It has been told to you this afternoon how fearless Senator STONE was. Such is true, yet he was always ready to conciliate, always ready to lend his influence for the purpose of bringing factions in his party together. He was always ready to do any conciliatory act that he could do which would not abrogate principle. That he would not do. Senator STONE was more viciously fought, perhaps, than any other man in political life in Missouri within my memory.

From what you have heard of him this afternoon you will observe that Senator STONE was fearless, that he would fight, that he was courageous, that he would stand first for those things which he believed to be right, and by reason of his great political foresight he soon became what you might term the party leader in our State. Democrats from all over the State would flock to him to seek his counsel. It became apparent to the opposition party that in order that they might overcome the influence of the success of the Democratic Party in our State it was necessary to destroy Senator STONE, who in the earlier days, of course, had been our governor, and all of the metropolitan press of that State which were interested in the party which was opposed to Senator STONE began at once to turn their vituperation and attacks toward him. These were constantly directed toward him.

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Senator STONE, as I have detailed, was always ready to accept the gauge of battle, and he met the issue fairly and squarely. He would not be controlled by the metropolitan press of his own party when he believed them wrong. He refused to be dictated to by them. This called upon him opposition from some of the leading papers even of his own party, but Senator STONE had that determination and that vision which is not always found in men of public life; that is, he was not willing to subordinate his future prospects to the power of any metropolitan press in his State when they disagreed and he felt he was right. So he went out and openly defied the press of his State when they wrongly attacked him, and the people came to his rescue and the country press throughout the State came to his rescue, and they were never able to accomplish his political destruction. I was one of those who were in the funeral party, and I shall never forget when we arrived at Nevada, Mo., Senator STONE's old home town. We stepped off the train very shortly after daylight and the people were at that time beginning to come into the town.

As I walked a few yards away from the car in which our delegation was located I observed an old gentleman, perhaps about 6 feet tall. He was dressed very plainly. He was tall and erect, and in his face you could see there was sorrow. I said to a Member of the Missouri delegation who was with me, "Do you see that gentleman? Thinking of him here at this early hour in the day, would you give me an analysis of that man as you read him?" He looked at him for a moment, and he said, "I have no doubt he is one of Senator STONE's most faithful friends. He has doubtless come many miles in order that he might be here to pay his last respects to the memory of his friend. I said to my colleague, "Let's go to him and meet him."

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We did, and introduced ourselves. I asked him if he lived in that town or near by. He said, "I live on a farm 15 miles away." I asked, "Did you come in this morning?" He said, "I did. I rose at 4 o'clock, in order that I might get in here as early as possible." "I presume," said I, "that you are a friend of Senator STONE?" He said, "I am. I voted for him the first time he ever ran for prosecuting attorney. I knew him. He lived among us. I supported him in every political campaign from that day down to his death, and had he lived to become a candidate again I would have been found standing as loyally and faithfully by him as I ever had in the past. We people feel that we have lost our best friend. We have lost a man whom, although we might sometimes and on some matters differ with him, we have always found sincere, honest, and true to his friends."

I am sure, gentlemen, that those who were in that funeral party on that day, and who had the opportunity of seeing the vast crowd of people assembled to witness the last sad rites over the remains of Senator STONE, could reach no other conclusion than that he still lives in the hearts of Missourians and in the hearts of his friends.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that one of the closest personal and political friends of the late Senator STONE is prevented from being present to-day on account of sickness; in fact, he is not in the city. I refer to our colleague Mr. Booher, and I ask unanimous consent that he may have the privilege of extending his remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, in order to avoid confusion, I ask unanimous consent now that each of the Missouri

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delegation, several of whom can not be here to-day, being kept away on account of sickness, be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record, as well as other Members who desired to be here, but can not be here to-day, be also permitted to extend their remarks in the Record, and also that the same may apply to all gentlemen who speak.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Then, in accordance with the resolution heretofore adopted, the House (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, February 3, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

MONDAY, *February 3, 1919.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session | SENATE | DOCUMENT No. 453

BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN

(Late a Senator from South Carolina)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Proceedings in the Senate
December 15, 1918

Proceedings in the House
December 15, 1918

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1919

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HON BENJAMIN R TILLMAN

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DEATH OF HON. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

WEDNESDAY, *July 3, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of Spirits, make us sensible of the glory that awaits the continued performance of duty day by day as we, a great Nation, address ourselves to the tasks of the day. Thou hast ever been moving through the channels of our national history. Generation after generation Thou hast called men to the standards of righteousness and peace and justice. Thou art moving with the mighty tides of the ocean. Thou dost call the faithful, the brave, and the true to Thine own standards that Thou hast raised for the gathering of the nations. O God, keep us faithful to the trust committed to our hands. We pray that as we come to the day upon which we celebrate the birth of our Nation we may have a rebirth of Thy spirit of truth and of righteousness and that we may have a reconsecration of a united Nation to the great ideals of the gospel of Thy Son.

As we gather together in this Chamber this morning our hearts are saddened at the news of the passing of one of the stalwart and brave and true men in national affairs in our day. O God, Thou are teaching us how quickly in the tide of time we are passing on to the great Assizes. Keep us watchful and faithful. We thank Thee for the performance of duty on the part of those who have lived

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among us. We pray that their going out may be filled with men equally brave and true. Hear us. Forgive our sins. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, it is with profound sorrow that I have to announce to the Senate the death of the senior Senator from South Carolina, Senator BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, who died this morning at 4.20 o'clock. Senator TILLMAN had a slight stroke of paralysis on Thursday. It kept progressing, and he lapsed into a state of unconsciousness on Sunday, from which he did not again recover, and he died this morning.

I shall not at this time, Mr. President, attempt to recall to the Senate the work of Senator TILLMAN and its character. We all know the sturdy character of the man, the splendid ruggedness of his nature. We did not always agree with him in the positions that he took, but we admired the manhood with which he backed the positions which he did take.

Senator TILLMAN had been in continuous service as a Senator for approximately 24 years. At the end of his term he would have rounded out the 24 years. He steadily improved in the estimation of the people of his State as well as of the Nation. They mistook the manner of the man at the beginning for the intent and purpose of his splendid character.

Mr. President, at a future time I shall have more to say about the character of my deceased colleague, but at present I submit the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

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Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. TILLMAN, to be held in the city of Trenton, S. C.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The Vice President, under the second resolution, appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate, Mr. Smith of South Carolina, Mr. Swanson, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Overman, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Pomerene, Mr. Fernald, Mr. Phelan, Mr. Sterling, Mr. Owen, Mr. Trammell, and Mr. McKellar.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I offer the following resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn until 12 o'clock noon, Friday, July 5, 1918.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Friday, July 5, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

FRIDAY, *July 5, 1918.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the death of Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

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THURSDAY, *August 22, 1918.*

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I present a resolution of the Alaska Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club of the city of Seattle, which resolution was also concurred in by the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Club itself. It is an expression of appreciation for the services to the north Pacific coast of Hon. B. R. TILLMAN, late a Senator from South Carolina. It is a brief and appropriate and sincere expression of appreciation of the responsive interest which the late Senator always took in matters relating to the north Pacific coast, particularly in connection with the Navy. I ask that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL CLUB.

Resolution commemorative of the late Hon. B. R. TILLMAN.

In the passing of the Hon. B. R. TILLMAN, chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, Alaska has lost a true friend. Advised as to the potential wealth of Alaska's undeveloped resources, he labored for a rational development that would make for the welfare of her people. A statesman of broad vision, he realized that the extremes of governmental policy toward the opening of Alaska's resources tended to economic loss and waste, instead of utilization and conservation.

For the use of Alaska coal to supply the needs of the Navy on the Pacific, Senator TILLMAN was an earnest and active worker, who exerted a strong influence in bringing about this nationally desired result.

In behalf of the friends of Alaska the Alaska Bureau of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club expresses its sincere grief in the national loss of a champion whose every effort was for the welfare and advancement of mankind.

Adopted by the Alaska Bureau, Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club, July 30, 1918.

J. L. MCPHERSON, *Secretary.*

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Adopted by the trustees of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club August 6, 1918.

G. C. CORBALEY,
Executive Secretary.

FRIDAY, *December 6, 1918.*

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate hold a session on Sunday, December 15, for the purpose of eulogies on the life and character of my late colleague, Senator BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN.

The VICE PRESIDENT. At what hour?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Beginning at 11 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SUNDAY, *December 15, 1918.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we are called together in Thy providence that we may accord a national honor to the memory of a distinguished Member of this body. We pause in the midst of the pressing duties of these fateful days, and in the golden moments of the holy Sabbath we perform this sacred duty.

It is our obligation to inscribe upon the unperishable honor roll of our departed statesmen the name of the Senator from South Carolina. Thou didst endow him with many qualities of heart and mind that made him a power in our national councils. Passionate in his advocacy of the rights of all men, devoted in his friendships, consistent with the principles which he avowed in his public life.

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By his far-sighted statesmanship, by his high sense of honor, by his strong defense of his political creed, he has made his name safe in the annals of American history.

We would not seek to assess the value of such a career. His record is with Thee, to whom we must all turn at last to give an account of our stewardship.

We pray that to-day as we recall his service to his country we may feel the ever-increasing responsibility of representing great sovereign States in this Senate. As we stand in this place of world-wide influence and power we seek the endowment of the spirit of righteousness to direct and control our lives according to the Divine will.

We serve our fellow men in the name and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore [Mr. Saulsbury] assumed the chair.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

Secretary (James M. Baker) read the resolutions (S. Res. 388) and they were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate express its profound sorrow in the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate in pursuance of an order heretofore made assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina

Mr. President: Senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman was born in 1847, which made him just the right age to receive childhood's vivid if exaggerated impression of the epoch-making period immediately preceding and culminating in the Civil War. The incidents and experiences that one must have witnessed and borne during that time, especially at the age of young Tillman, must have had a profound effect upon his character and his subsequent attitude as a man toward men and affairs.

The reconstruction period immediately following the war was fraught with more trials, tested more thoroughly the moral, mental, and patriotic fiber of men, than the actual period of the war itself. The struggle of the war itself was terrible, but the object to be attained was worthy of all sacrifice from the standpoint of the South. The orgy of misrule and corruption, during reconstruction times, threatened to engulf and destroy our civilization in that section. Rapine and lust, greed and avarice, in their most revolting form assumed to overrule virtue and decency, honesty and righteousness, in both civil and political life.

Prominent amongst those who took part in stemming this unholy tide was young Benjamin Ryan Tillman. He did his part in bringing about the dissipation of this hideous nightmare of corruption and misrule, and helped, through the agency of the famous Red Shirt Brigade, to bring about the reestablishment of decent government in South Carolina and the liberation of its homes from the threatened beastly defilement.

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When this task was accomplished and South Carolina, like other Southern States, took up her burden of rebuilding the waste places, of gathering together what resources she might in order to retrieve some semblance of the condition that made life tolerable, young TILLMAN also did his part. He, as his family before him had done, settled near Edgefield, S. C., and devoted himself to farming. Perhaps of all the occupations that felt the cruel grind of that period the farmers were the greatest sufferers. He knew at first hand by bitter experience their heritage of hardships, and his first appearance in the arena as a public man was in the advocacy of means looking toward the betterment of the conditions under which the farmer struggled. This first appearance at Bennettsville, S. C., in 1885, was the index to his future public career. His writings and speeches were devoted to the agitation of questions looking toward the betterment of agricultural conditions. In 1890 he became a candidate for governor, and was elected as a representative of the agricultural element of the State. He was reelected in 1892. During his official career as governor he devoted a great deal of time and attention to the establishment of Clemson Agricultural College. This college, as a distinct separate educational institution, was established on the old John C. Calhoun estate, Fort Hill, in Oconee County, S. C. He devoted every available energy to the development and progress of this institution, and lived to see it become one of the foremost agricultural institutions of America.

He also was instrumental in the establishment at Rock Hill, S. C., of the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women. These two institutions are perhaps the most enduring monuments to Senator TILLMAN's devotion to the cause of education, particularly for those classes for whose welfare he had written and worked so hard.

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In 1894 he became a candidate for and was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Gen. M. C. Butler. In this capacity as a public man he served until his death.

Some of the most interesting things in connection with Senator TILLMAN's career as a public man were the establishment of the dispensary system in South Carolina for the control of the purchase, manufacture, and sale of whisky by the State. Through subsequent modifications of the law it was finally abolished. In the constitutional convention of 1895 Senator TILLMAN was instrumental in having written into the constitution a prohibition against the manufacture and sale of whisky by private individuals, so that during the modification of the dispensary law it finally became an issue as to local option between the counties as political units being allowed to sell whisky or prohibition. Prohibition finally won. Perhaps the most notable innovation in our political affairs during his career was the inauguration of the primary system for the selection of candidates for the Democratic Party. Senator TILLMAN was prominent in bringing about the adoption of the primary system in South Carolina for the naming of candidates in lieu of the old convention system.

It is interesting to note the subsequent adoption of this plan more or less throughout the country.

As a Senator he made a name for himself as a bold and aggressive debater. His views on public affairs he never hesitated to assert plainly and unequivocally, nor did he hesitate to challenge fearlessly what he did not approve. He loved his State in his own peculiar passionate way and guarded her rights with a fiery zeal characteristic of him. His hold upon the people of South Carolina was without parallel; he appealed to their imagination and dominated the State's political life as perhaps no other individual in her history had done. In a similar sense this was true of his hold upon the American public; that is, in his power

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to awaken their interest and appeal to their imagination. I knew very little of Senator TILLMAN's domestic life, but from what I was privileged to see of the relation that existed between him and Mrs. Tillman there was often called to my mind, as he himself was fond of quoting, that immortal verse of Burns:

John Anderson my jo, John,
  When we were first acquent,
Your locks were like the raven,
  Your bonie brow was brent;
But now your brow is beld, John,
  Your locks are like the snaw,
But blessings on your frosty pow,
  John Anderson my jo!

John Anderson my jo, John,
  We clamb the hill thegither,
And monie a cantie day, John,
  We've had wi' ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John,
  And hand in hand we'll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
  John Anderson my jo!

No two have ever lived in the spirit of this poem as Mr. and Mrs. TILLMAN and the last verse was recalled to my mind whenever I saw them on the street or in their home.

The latter years of Senator TILLMAN's life were shadowed by an affliction which ultimately resulted in his death. The manner in which he bore this affliction was characteristic of the man. He refused to yield the field of his activities because of it, and only succumbed when death laid its hand upon him. He died as he had often expressed a desire to die—actually in harness. His death ended the career of one of the most remarkable characters my State ever produced.

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Address of Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: Senator Tillman did not come to the Senate in 1895, as many do, a man unknown beyond the limits of his own State. His reputation preceded his coming. The country had heard about him. The general public knowledge of him was not, perhaps, extensive, but it was distinct and emphatic. To those who looked below the surface it was apparent that here was a man who had wrested control of a famous State from a body of men who, from generation to generation, for 200 years had dominated its politics and its social and economic life. Both at home and in Washington they had brought forth distinguished leaders in public life, who had impressed themselves and their opinions deeply upon the history of the country and made South Carolina a power to be reckoned with throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whatever their mistakes may have been, however extreme their views, they had been remarkable for ability, courage, and force displayed not only by individuals but by families, whose names and achievements were familiar to all the people of the United States. They had retained their power after the Civil War as it had existed before the great conflict which they had done so much to lead and provoke. Then, as the century closed, they were suddenly overwhelmed and defeated by the forces which rallied behind Senator Tillman.

To the mass of the American people who did not fully realize the deeper significance of Senator Tillman's victory he was known as the author of the dispensary laws, and his methods of discussion, his "pitchfork," and his reckless frankness in the use of language, of which he had ample command, had made him a picturesque figure and

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greatly excited public curiosity as to his activities when he reached the Senate. It was for the most part by no means either a friendly or a sympathetic curiosity, but it was both vivid and strong, for it was understood that he intended to revolutionize the Senate, as he had already revolutionized South Carolina.

Senator TILLMAN was neither the first nor the last who has come to the Senate with such a purpose as that attributed to him, and anyone who has studied the history or watched the movements of the Senate for a number of years knows what has happened to those who have come in from another field determined to change the Senate and overturn its ways and methods. The first fact they discover is that the Senate takes a local or State reputation very calmly and is apt to remain undazzled by its beams. Power and reputation in the Senate must be acquired in the Senate itself. The Senate as a body is very tolerant and generous. There is more personal good feeling, less personal animosity, a more complete desire to be considered with each other, and a greater loyalty to the Senate itself and its traditions than in any other legislative body in the world. But on one point the Senate is firm. It declines to be bored. Its method of declination may not be obvious, but it is highly effective. The men who have come here proclaiming their intention of revolutionizing and reforming the Senate have fallen in practice into two classes—those who insisted on continuing to attack the Senate and all its habits and methods and those who sooner or later, generally sooner than later, accepted the Senate traditions and ways of life. The former, very few in number, became bores and found themselves unheard and without influence and have been forgotten. The latter have been successful and often distinguished Senators, influential and effective. It is needless to say that Senator TILLMAN belonged preeminently to the second class. He

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never bored anyone. However widely one might disagree with him he was always and unfailingly interesting. He came not only to accept the Senate but to be one of its most ardent defenders, supporting its rules, habits, and traditions, and very proud of its history and of its power and importance.

This came about through no sacrifice of principle, but simply because he was a man naturally of strong good sense and open to conviction. He startled the country and the Senate at the very outset by an unbridled attack upon President Cleveland, and I think he even then began to see that in the Senate at least this was not the best method to advance the policies or the principles he had at heart. He came to the Senate also with bitter and deep-seated dislike, I will not say prejudice, against all Republicans and all northern men. Nevertheless, among Republicans and northern men he found before many years had passed some of his warmest personal friends. In these last years he one day made a short speech in the Senate in which he admitted that he had been mistaken in these early opinions and that he had in these respects changed his mind. It seemed, I am sure, to those who heard or read what he said, an avowal at once manly and touching. But it was something more than this. It showed willingness and ability to learn, admirable and essential capacities throughout life, and especially to be cherished in old age. It also showed the courage to admit that he had been wrong, and this is a loftier and rarer attribute and a very fine quality indeed.

But if Senator TILLMAN learned to know the Senate and his fellow Senators better and to like them better as the years passed, the Senate also learned much about him. Everyone was aware that he was able, forceful, and possessed of unbounded energy. But Senators found also that the blunt words and the stormy manner when he

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was roused were far more in evidence in public than in private life. Behind all this was a kindly nature, plenty of humor, a serious outlook on life, and real sincerity of purpose. One at least of those who came in the process of time to know him well discovered that Senator TILLMAN had knowledge of and genuine fondness for literature and poetry—good literature and good poetry, be it said—and above all that he was a lover of Shakespeare, a phase of his character not generally appreciated. He was a conspicuous and active Senator for many years and worked hard and faithfully until he was stricken by illness some years ago. After his partial recovery he went on with an uncomplaining and unfailing courage which commanded everyone's admiration until the end came. Never did he appear better than in his attitude toward the war. He never had any doubts. He recognized what Germany meant, and he was for the right and for the war with all his strength. During these years of physical trial and endurance he turned more than ever toward the friends with whom he had been long in service, and grew ever gentler and more kindly. The affection and sympathy which I think he craved, for he had an emotional nature, were freely given. After a long day of many conflicts the evening was calm and peaceful. As I talked with him and watched him amid the lengthening shadows when the sun of life was slowly setting I often thought of Dr. Holmes's lines written for his own seventieth birthday:

Still as the silver cord gets worn and slender,
  Its lightened task-work tugs with lessening strain,
Hands get more helpful, voices, grown more tender,
  Soothe with their softened tones the slumberous brain.

So when the iron portal shuts behind us,
  And life forgets us in its noise and whirl,
Visions that shunned the glaring noonday find us,
  And glimmering starlight shows the gates of pearl.

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Address of Mr. Swanson, of Virginia

Mr. President: Senator Tillman was one of the most striking and picturesque characters in the public life of America. No one interested or attracted the attention of the public more than he. His mental qualities and his physical appearance were each peculiarly fascinating. He possessed a strong, robust, and compact body; a firm, decisive step; large, expansive, and magnificent brow; clear, dark, and fearless eyes; firm and resolute mouth and chin, indicative of unflinching courage and resolution. He had a sombre, serious aspect, which could scarcely conceal the fierce flames of passion and conviction which surged beneath. In speaking, he made very few gestures, but occasionally emphasized a point by a peculiar gesture of arm and finger, which always left a profound impression upon his hearers. His strong physical personality always left upon his auditors, whether of the Senate or public assembly, a most favorable impression. He had a strong, clear, and penetrating voice, falling pleasantly on the ears, never monotonous, because frequently tinged with sarcasm or resounding with indignation. These large physical advantages, combined with his mental qualities, made him one of the most effective speakers of his day. I have heard few public speakers who could sway and hold a great audience better than Senator Tillman. Wherever he went in the United States large assemblages greeted him enthusiastically and applauded uproariously his bold, striking utterances. In the days of his health and vigor he was one of the most effective debaters in the Senate. Well do I recall, when I was a Member of the House of Representatives, the frequent debates between Senator Tillman and Senator Spooner, which crowded the Chamber with Members of the House and

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the galleries with interested spectators. During his long service in the Senate few of its Members engaged in more important debates than he—few participated in discussing subjects of such large range and variety. He was well informed on all matters, ranging from the smallest to those of paramount importance. In discussing them he displayed accurate knowledge, logical and patriotic conclusions.

Senator TILLMAN came to the United States Senate after he had had a most remarkable and successful career as governor of his State. He had attained political supremacy in South Carolina only after fierce conflict and unremitting combat. He had won at home by the strength of battle—not the art of diplomacy. His methods were those of the fighting warrior and not those of the negotiating diplomat. This characterizes alike his political career in the Senate. He boldly proclaimed at all times his convictions and conclusions, willing to stand or fall on their acceptance or rejection. He indulged in no equivocation, no evasion. He was bold, clear, and defiant, possessing the rare quality of complete intellectual integrity. He did not shirk going to the utmost limit dictated by his convictions and conclusions. This rugged, sterling integrity obtained for him the full confidence of his people. However much others may have differed with Senator TILLMAN, they knew he but gave utterance to his honest convictions. This gave him strength and brought to him a following which no charm of eloquence or intellectual adroitness could ever obtain. Thus all through his political life he builded on the solid foundation of courage and candor. Fear of consequences never made him fail to answer a roll call in the Senate. His integrity was such that when he made a mistake, and later realized it, he never sought refuge in evasion, but frankly and boldly confessed his error.

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His intellectual integrity was only equaled by his great moral integrity. Throughout his long political career no stain followed his footsteps—no scandal tarnished his fame. Any corrupt scheme that sought to covertly wind its way through the Senate ever encountered a most vigilant and inveterate foe in Senator TILLMAN. Special privileges and favoritism always found in him a persistent enemy. His service to this country in this respect was invaluable.

His rugged, sterling honesty was one of Senator TILLMAN's most splendid qualities. Honesty is the greatest of virtues, around which all others cling; without it they wither and fall in dust and weeds.

Mr. President, Senator TILLMAN's legislative achievements were extensive and most useful to his country. He was a most industrious worker and legislator. He was constant in his attendance in the Senate, active and energetic as a committee worker. He was the recipient not many years ago of a striking indication of the very high regard and esteem in which he was held by his colleagues when legislation for the regulation of railroads was put under his control and management, although a majority of the Members of the Senate at that time were of opposite political faith. In the management of this measure he displayed parliamentary skill, eloquence, and great information.

His greatest work in the Senate was that which appertained to his duties as a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, of which he was for some time chairman. He labored incessantly in committee and on the floor of the Senate to make the American Navy sufficiently large and efficient to discharge its responsibilities. His efforts were untiring in this direction. To the accomplishment of this task, which was so dear to his heart, he brought all his rugged strength and pertinacity. Having been closely

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associated with him in this work, ranking next to him on this committee, I desire to bear testimony to his usefulness and invaluable service. He aided most potentially in having the American Navy properly prepared, and thus made possible its achievements in the war with Germany. The country will ever owe him a large debt of gratitude for his work in this direction. When Senator TILLMAN died the American Navy lost a strong and powerful friend.

Mr. President, my association with Senator TILLMAN was so close and intimate that I was not only cognizant of his splendid qualities as a public man but I was also fully aware of his excellence as a private individual. His private life was moral, clean, lovable, and honorable. He possessed in a preeminent degree strong moral character and integrity. He scorned duplicity and falsehood, loathing a lie. He fearlessly and scrupulously spoke the truth—sometimes almost brutally. I never knew a more tender, devoted husband; a kinder, better father. As a friend, he was steadfast and loyal. Like "Old Hickory" Jackson, his rugged character was knitted together by the strong fibers of friendship and fidelity. Of him it may be said, as was said of "Old Hickory" Jackson, "He never failed a friend, never forgot a favor."

Mr. President, in the death of Senator TILLMAN this country has sustained a great loss. In these trying hours our country needs strong, rugged characters like him, men whose broad and brave shoulders can securely bear national burdens. Our pressing need now is not beautiful and fragrant flowers, but old, gnarled oaks like Senator TILLMAN, to bear the present coming storm and stress. We do not now need eloquent and pleasing Ciceros to gloze over vice and evil and conceal dangers. We need fearless Catos, like Senator TILLMAN, to point out wrong, expose iniquity, and fearlessly meet dangers and difficulties.

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Address of Mr. Nelson, of Minnesota

Mr. President: In 1876 the so-called "carpet-bag" and negro-rule government, which had come as a result of the close of the Civil War in South Carolina, was overturned, and the political power in the State fell into the hands of the survivors of that political aristocracy which had been in power in the years preceding the Civil War. The men who thus came into power, many of them prominent Confederate officers, continued in control of the political affairs of the State until 1890—a period of 14 years.

In the meantime a spirit of restlessness had arisen among the middle classes, or the so-called "common people" of the State, against the rule of this old-time political aristocracy. This culminated in a movement among the farmers, who formed the farmer organization of the State.

Senator Tillman became one of the leaders in this movement, and became a candidate for governor under the auspices and with the support of this farmer organization. It was a drastic and bitter campaign which ensued between the "old guard" and the "new guard" under the leadership of Tillman. He was the central figure and the moving spirit of the great political battle from which he emerged victorious at all points.

This was followed by another drastic political campaign in 1892, in which Tillman was again a candidate for governor, and in which he was reelected after a very hot and exciting campaign. And finally in 1894 he was elected United States Senator after a bitter and spirited fight, defeating one of the prominent leaders of the old régime.

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TILLMAN's victories in these campaigns were so complete that the elements which he and his followers vanquished have never since regained the power they had previously held.

The administration of TILLMAN as governor was on the whole and in the main successful and progressive. He was instrumental in bringing about many important reforms and improvements for the welfare of the State. While he was inclined to be somewhat domineering and drastic in his ways, yet on account of his honesty and sincerity and on account of the wisdom of his measures he was looked upon with favor and became popular among the great masses of the State, and that popularity he retained in full measure until the day of his death.

While Senator TILLMAN had not had the advantages of a full college education, he had, nevertheless, been well trained in one of the academic schools of his State, where he was in attendance for upward of three years. But whatever deficiency there may have been in the training of the schools he more than made up in after life. He was a great reader and a great student, and he confined his readings and his studies largely to classical works of the highest order. He was a wonderful man in energy and perseverance, never at a standstill, always moving ahead, always seeking new worlds to conquer.

Mr. President, it came to pass that he and I took the oath of office and entered the Senate on the same day—the 4th of March, 1895. We soon became intimate friends, and that friendship continued until the time of his death. While at first he seemed somewhat crusty and abrupt, yet I soon discovered that this was but the outer shell of a kind and generous heart and a vigorous and active mind. When he entered the Senate he was a veteran of many a hard-fought political battle, and this had developed in him a belligerent attitude on many public questions,

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which at times seemed to make him rather impatient of opposition. But, however this might be, everyone recognized his integrity and honesty of purpose, and no one could doubt his earnestness and sincerity. As a rule, there was with him no middle ground; a measure was to him either right or wrong, and hence he was most persistent and vigorous in his advocacy or in his opposition. When he was actively enlisted in a cause there was no truce; the battle must be vigorously fought to the end.

I remember well the first great speech he made in the Senate. It seemed to me to come from a heart full of the evolutions in which he had taken part in his own State. There were many unique phrases and idioms in his speech which gave evidence of this, but on the whole his speech indicated to me that he was at heart sound and that he would zealously labor for the best interests of our common country.

As the years went by he became a good, sound debater, more moderate in tone and more charitable to his opponents, and many of his early idiosyncrasies disappeared. He became a ready debater, and could take and give blows as effectively as any Senator in this body. His oratory was not of the glittering kind that dwelt in lofty and high-sounding periods, but rather of the kind that struck sledge-hammer blows at the heart of the question. He took no pains to sugar coat the points he made. Because of his earnestness and sincerity, and because of his avoidance of all ornament, he became a most powerful advocate or a most dangerous opponent. Above all things he believed in calling things by their right names, and if a scholarly name was not found he would evoke an idiom or phrase current among the people, but not always found in the books, which would oftentimes in its very peculiarity furnish a most potent argument.

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Prior to the misfortune which befell him through a stroke of apoplexy he was one of the most energetic and hard-working Members of the Senate, participating in the debates on all important and leading questions. He took a leading part in securing the enactment of the amendatory interstate commerce act of 1906, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission for the first time the rate-making power, a power that had been sought for, both by the commission and by the great mass of the people, for many years. I well remember the persistency with which he labored in this cause, and the helpful and effective work he did in that behalf.

He was much sought for as a lecturer, in the Northern States especially, on account of his ultra views on the so-called "race question." His discussion of this question was always illuminating and instructive; and while his audiences may not always have agreed with his views, yet he always secured a large attendance of good listeners, who, to say the least, were interested in hearing his views on his side of the case.

He was always kind and considerate toward his fellow Senators, and on his lecture tours, if the occasion arose, he would always say a good word for his colleagues, whether they belonged to his party or not.

He was emphatically, in the true sense of the word, a progressive—a progressive in the sense that, although the old may have proved satisfactory, yet if anything new developed which he found to be better, he was ready and swift to seize upon it.

He was in all things loyal and faithful to the interests and welfare of his State and to the interests and welfare of our common country. He had no patience with shams nor with glittering generalities, and in his debates he gave no mercy to either.

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South Carolina has been represented by many able, cultured, and highly educated men in this body, men who commanded attention here and elsewhere; and while Senator TILLMAN may not have had the culture or the gifts of oratory of some of his predecessors, yet I doubt whether any of them rendered more effective and beneficial service in this vineyard of the people to his State and to our common country than did he.

He was an active dynamo in the moral and intellectual world, that gave ample evidence of a brave heart and a strong soul—tireless in the performance of his duties. A Senate composed of such men as TILLMAN would never go far astray and would always be apt to listen to the demands of the people for necessary constructive and remedial legislation.

Had he lived he would, no doubt, have been returned to the Senate by practically a unnanimous vote of the people of his State, but the fates willed otherwise. And while he is with us no more, the public spirit which he infused into the political, social, and economic life of his State still survives, and his memory will be cherished for years to come as one of the most beloved sons of South Carolina.

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Address of Mr. Lewis, of Illinois

Mr. President: Among those whose fortune it is to contribute a word upon this sublime as well as solemn occasion, to me is given the privilege of expressing a heart's feeling, a thought.

These proceedings, Mr. President, are designated as obituaries. The general mankind, reading of them in the public press, is inclined to the idea that they are a mere formal proceeding, established by custom, and observed merely that we might comply with some senatorial courtesy. Others feel, Mr. President, that they are something like a surcease of the political quarrels of the past, and are in the form of a universal forgiveness, while we robe the dead with the consideration we declined them while they live. Partisan conflicts are believed to have been so bitter in this Chamber that time never heals their wounds, nor any personal gift of the combatant or charm of manner ameliorates the asperities exhibited in the combat.

Too many assume that these proceedings but envelop with a glow the closing chapter of some life which before partisanship had shrouded in gloom. It is not true. It is regretful that the public should have an estimate of that nature. There is no rule of this body which calls upon a Senator to pay respects to a dead comrade. There is no obligation upon him other than that which applies from man to man in any avenue of life. Utterances as will be embalmed, sir, in a volume kept as a monument of memory of the deceased are volunteer expressions of admiration and heartfelt praise. We must note the tributes from such men as these two distinguished leaders of one of the great parties of our Nation—one from the East, in the classic scholar, Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts; one from

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the West, in the great, strong, sturdy nature of Nelson, of Minnesota. Sir, these are not born out of courtesy, nor do they spring out of mere observance of custom. They were the overflowings of a heart that had become convinced by close association of the merit of the man. They were inspired by that impulse of justice which speaks out here to voice the sentiment to all now living who knew the dead TILLMAN as the living statesman that they may know how thus his rivals in politics, his opponents in conflict, and more, sir, oftentimes his enemies in party warfare, remember him and appraise him as a man.

I have often thought, Mr. President, that when contributions have come, such as from distinguished gentlemen of our side—called democratic—toward Democrats, they would be accepted only as a tribute of party associates and regarded as a favor that was due one to whom the party associations have for a while been tender and fraternal. It is not known to the public that even among ourselves very serious differences often exist as to ways and means and as to methods and objects. Likewise, sir, among us the contribution or tribute is never tendered from mere favor or form. It is only spoken because of that conviction of truth, that sense of desert, that solemn justice we owe that deserving man, whoever he is.

Mr. President, if it were in my power I would abolish our prevailing method of giving obituary—delaying the tribute until legislation assignments afford a convenient time. I would invoke in this body that other rule prescribing that when the solemn announcement of the death of a comrade came to us, and there were those disposed to speak of his qualities and deserts, I would have that duty discharged then. I would not have it so lapse that the memory of him would be dimmed by after events, and those who had known him intimately deprived of the word that could be spoken by those of close familiarity and fresh memory.

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Yet, after all, I am inclined, sir, as I speak, to another thought. This lapse of time must impress the public with the sincerity of these utterances. Many events have happened since this distinguished man was laid to rest among his friends. Swirling clouds of war flashed with fire, portions of the earth ripped apart, kings toppled, monarchs crushed, while dynasties have passed into the aftermath, to be remembered as a thing to be despised or to be mourned. Only a strong man, Mr. President, who had impressed his personality upon the soul of man, could have been remembered during such times as these and could have invoked from men the expression so firm in praise and so strong in love as that which has come from these who have spoken to-day of this one man—TILLMAN.

Only great merits of such a man carved in deeds upon the hearts of his fellows could have been reflected after such events. The ordinary man, to whom a tribute out of courtesy would have been given, would have been forgotten in such an hour. It is only a great star shining among planets whose light could illume through such darkness amid which we have lived. Only the attributes of the great, sir, could have remained to reflect their glory upon mankind in such scenes as those which amid fire and death and universal carnage still survive. If the time has lapsed—which I deplore—from custom, it is to be said that in this particular instance it has served as a test of this man's great deserts. It must now be certified that amid it all and through it all he still could remain an ever-gleaming light, pouring radiance about the hearts of his friends and reflecting in steady flame the character of this dead master. It must ever live as a beacon to guide the children of the State he honored with his sublime service.

Sir, Senator TILLMAN was, as these distinguished Senators have said, but a plain man. Yet what greater men have we among greatness than those who are plain men?

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We recall for the moment the lines that Tennyson translated from the heart of that returning statesman, who from an humble farmer to premier found himself in his boyhood village. After a career of greatness in public life, he stands where once he followed a plowshare. He looks about him, and musing:

> Dost thou look back on what hath been,
> As some divinely gifted man,
> Whose life in low estate began
> And on simple village green.
> Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
> And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
> And breasts the blows of circumstance
> To grapple with his evil star.

Ah, behold! That is the "pillar of a people's hope" and the "center of a world's desire."

Sir, what was the object of this man, BEN TILLMAN, citizen of the United States? Mr. President, my mother's family was from the State of South Carolina. They were the Hamiltons—I am carrying their name. The mere suggestion indicates to you, sir, that I was necessarily interested in the State from the earliest time of my life and that I must ever be interested in the affairs of its men. I left the South very early and found my home in the West, and have remained a western man. I entered the House of Representatives in 1897, and had the delight to serve with such comrades as I see sitting about me—the eminent Senator, now chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, succeeding Senator TILLMAN, Mr. Swanson of Virginia, whose public service has been shown in so many characters and in so many high places of civilization; and the distinguished Senator from Colorado, Mr. Shafroth, whose contribution in all things to the welfare of his country is praised by those who know him. I can recall that it was one of our occupations, when we were not busy in the

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House, to come over to the Senate when we heard that TILLMAN of South Carolina was to engage in some debate or conflict. As the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Minnesota have well said, he attracted attention from the mere fact that he was to speak.

Mr. President, let me say, sir, on this solemn occasion, yet, sir, with all the deliberation it commands, it was not so important in those days as to how he said that which he did; it mattered not in what words these phrases should be graced; nor particularly, sir, does it dwell now upon the mind of man as to whether they disclosed college education, the finish of literary adornment, or the perfection of phraseology. It was that the man felt justice; it was that his constant struggle in life was to do that justice to man; it was that the very soul within him surged and beat to the single purpose of having justice done by his Government, aye, to its humblest citizen, and for this, to this, and through this he spoke.

Mr. President, I have lived through two epochs in this Government when to my mind—reflecting the lessons which the page of history gave me—there was suggested time and time again how near my country was on the verge of a civil revolution. One of those, sir, was in the years when I first came into congressional public life, following 1896—in the year 1897. It was at the end, sir, of what was called a Democratic administration. Without regard to what might be said to be the right or wrong of measures which were then in force, or, sir, of the policies which were then invoked, it is sufficient to recall for a moment that there was a public mind throughout the land which, because of financial distresses and not understanding the causes that brought them forth, was on the eve of overturning all of the fixed institutions of our fabric, and would have been content to do so in any form that should have presented itself to their successful under-

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taking. Do you realize, Senators, that but for such men as BEN TILLMAN, who was understood to represent the humble people, to speak for the great rights of civilization, to speak for that great mass of mankind who find themselves squirming beneath the feet of masters—that but for such as he, in whom that order had confidence and felt he was for them—this land of ours never could have escaped the fate that has followed all other lands under similar circumstances since history threw its light on civilization—revolution?

It was the manner of such a man, the expressions of such a man, the purpose of such a man and of his kind wherever they were, sir, which saved the Republic of the United States and held it firm to the center of its purpose—a peaceful government of the people, by the voice of the people. He therefore, sir, contributed a great service to the Republic. Without being conscious of it, and perchance without having it in his purpose, he was one of the few who cemented our country again together when it was about to part like a ship in the mad waves of a vengeful sea.

When men shall come to consider such a man, may we not recall the atmosphere in which he lived, the time in which he spoke, the conditions he met, the remedies he offered, and the result of his contributions? By these may he not be measured? And since the tendency of us all is to look to smaller things in human life and by this diminish the real measure of greatness in the altogether, we may appeal to future history, and shall consider this great truth, to recall what was the results and the sure effect of such a life as he lived, such offerings as he gave, such services as he brought to his land in such an hour as they were given.

Mr. President, there was another period which fell to the peril of insurrection with what was called Republican

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administration. This was in the fall of 1912. It began in the spring of 1912, following the year 1911, culminating in a spirit in this land of a political upheaval partaking of resentment against party arrangement and party organization and against every form of established government. Had there not been strong men on all sides to come forth at such a time and point out where the real evil was and how it could be remedied by the people themselves there would have been a revolution in America. There was a spirit in the land that cared nothing for ancient institutions, that knew neither the fathers of the past nor recked of their glory. Sir, this and other reasons similar to that in effect which followed immediately what was known as the Cleveland administration, produced a situation that promised to overturn the courts on one hand, to dispense with all our forms of legislation throughout, and end in the wreck and ruin of our form of civilization.

One can only conjecture what might have followed had it not been for the course of honest, faithful, strong-hearted men, who arose and spoke the truth without fear, placed the evil where it belonged, and registered responsibility at its just place and announced the real remedy for the wrong endured. TILLMAN was one. Here in this Chamber his voice could be heard long after the expiration of 1896. Twenty years of public life had not changed his creed or modified the sincere, patriotic effort he made for mankind. He was one of its legislative saviors.

Senators have said, and rightfully, that men serving on this floor with each other become mollified; that they become softened; that the spirit of attack vanishes; that party contest wanes. One stands like a vestal near the altar, with the swinging incense of friendship perfuming every conflict. But, sir, however true that may be, and doubtless is—and long may it continue—still, sir, as to this man neither fear of men nor partisanship of politics

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nor favor from his own nor affections of home ever moved him from his conviction.

Nor, sir, did the beckon of riches or the opportunity of fortune seduce him from his firm sense of right. When he began his undertaking for men he remained true to the end. It was because of the confidence of the multitude in such men, in whom they beheld the rock around which the vine might entwine in beauty yet remain fixed in unshaken strength. Truly, sir, his voice and character was the rock of our salvation. When we reflect upon this we can but slightly measure the service such a man does a country such as ours founded upon the will of the people and only abiding so long as the people have faith in the honesty of men.

Senators have referred to the last days of this distinguished statesman. Mr. President, in civil government his decree was justice to men, in war the duty of patriots. From neither did he ever veer. His eye was fixed to see through the long distance the great danger that was upon us in a later hour. He did not parley with it; he did not compromise with it nor smother its expression from fear in any quarter. His was again the lifted ax, that he might smite the head of the foe when raised to endanger his country.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. Swanson] well spoke of Senator TILLMAN's efforts in behalf of the Navy. The distinguished head of the Navy, the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, who bore the great burden in such hour, is here sitting with us. He found no aid greater, none stronger. Truly there were none more patriotic and none more sure nor more uncompromising in his championship than this chairman of the Naval Committee.

Mr. President, I know the South. It was not easy for BEN TILLMAN in time of peace to stand here in support

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of a large Navy. He came from a State whose people were carefully considerate, among whom were few millionaires. The rich were the exception. They were by nature and from a Commonwealth of past conviction inclined to resent on the part of their public servant unnecessary appropriations that would bring large taxes and heavy burdens upon their people and their earnings. No one knew this more than TILLMAN. He knew this necessarily attracted about himself a possible political opposition from which he might have to pay that penalty which public men pay for outrunning their constituents and guiding instead of following them.

But, nevertheless, sir, he did not make measure of that event. The duty of his whole country was the sole standard to him. He was willing to trust the intelligence of South Carolina. He knew her humble people as he did her superior people. He knew that if he were to go to them with the truth, it would be the truth that would not only make them free but save him from any injustice. It was that feature of independence in politics that characterized him, so different from any men around him, and which justify on this day these tributes of praise which are so willingly and sweetly rendered by these his comrades who were a generation and more in public life with him.

Mr. President, I knew him as a friend. I did not hesitate to go to him for counsel. To him I had no pride in confessing blunders, which of course in all men's lives are many. I never knew a man to whom I could go with greater hope for consolation and for a sure sense of guardianship than to this man TILLMAN. It is because of this that I recall it. My sense of obligations is but different from that of his other dear comrades. I knew him as a friend, and as such I mourn him and miss him.

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But, Mr. President, there was one thought which I can not omit. Those who knew him closely would ever be impressed with his Christianity. There was about TILLMAN a sense of responsibility to God and Heaven to which he felt he would some day make his last return. Sir, whatever else might have been, when that time came there would be nothing for him to seek to hide. There would be nothing which he need seek excuse from his fellow mankind. His religion was to him consoling, ever guiding and ever inspiring him. His religion was faith in God, his belief the teachings of Christ, his creed love for his fellow mankind.

That is, sir, what sustained him through those days of illness which distinguished Senators have alluded to. It consoled him in such hour, as he was, by his affectionate and tender wife, nursed to reviving hope. She never tired. His children never wearied in their service for him. He clung to life as a duty to them. Many times we have seen him here when we knew his oppressed physical condition would not justify it; yet out of duty to those around him, at the sacrifice of physical comfort, he would ever be with us in the discharge of the duty he owed to God and to country. Where will we find in after days a nobler example for men to pattern by than such a character?

Mr. President, South Carolina has contributed many great men to the world of circumstance in America. She has inscribed in perpetual history such memorial as time affords to the names of great heroes and wondrous statesmen familiar to us. We recall them easily. John C. Calhoun was a master of sophistry, a philosopher of government—in the science of it as it is written. Hammond was distinguished by reason of something of the insistence on that class distinction which prevailed too long in the South and to her great injury. Butler, the example of noblesse

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oblige. In his personality he ever commanded respect and admiration. Hampton personified the valor of the soldier and the character of those who gave much of life for what they believed and could not understand the difference of another as against them or as neglectful of all their people's sacrifice.

But in TILLMAN there was the philosopher of government—that government that meant justice to all men equally wherever possible under the law. There was the courtly gentleman who knew not how to swerve from duty, with the courage of the soldier; a courage which never shrank in an undertaking that meant the preservation of the country and the maintenance of its honor. He passed through all the stages represented by all others and in himself personified their virtues. In these days of great victories where they have been garnered by other men with every opportunity of favor or partiality, BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN leaves in his life and memory a monument of achievement over all obstacles to which after generations his State will point with pride and glory. His memory will live as an influence which will inspire its citizenship to noble efforts, and strike to their lips a chorus of praise in the coming day and in aftertime, when our whole world shall know the new regeneration of this, our Republic. Those who knew him will praise God that our time could produce such a man as BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN.

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Address of Mr. Pollock, of South Carolina

Mr. President: In all ages and amongst all civilized peoples it has been an honored custom for the living to pay tribute to the dead, and so to-day we are met here in response to that custom to pay a meed of tribute to the memory of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, whose seat I now have the honor to occupy.

The first ballot that it was ever my privilege, as a citizen of South Carolina, to cast for governor of my State was cast for Benjamin Ryan Tillman in 1892. The first ballot that it was ever my privilege, as a member of the General Assembly of South Carolina, to cast for United States Senator from my State was cast for the distinguished American Senator to whose memory we would to-day pay tribute.

Occupying the same seat that he so well and ably filled for nearly 24 years, succeeding him for a short time by the suffrage of the same people whom he loved so well, called upon by the people of South Carolina—his people and mine—to complete the service which they had intrusted to him, I must confess to a deep sense of my inability to pay full tribute to him as well as confess to my inability to render a service in this body comparable with the great record which he made for himself, his State, and his country, which has placed him in the front rank of not only the greatest of Carolina statesmen, but also amongst the greatest statesmen that our whole country has produced in its nearly 150 years of national existence.

The life and career of Senator Tillman should be an inspiration to the young manhood of America which has

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not had a full chance in the race of life. Coming on the scene of action immediately after the great Civil War, when his State was prostrate, his people poor, his opportunities circumscribed, without means and without educational facilities, he was compelled to work by day and study by night. He soon realized that the poor man without education fought an unequal fight, and he undertook to educate himself by study and reading whenever time permitted. Denied the education of a college, he turned to the university of hard knocks and hard work, and for many years he toiled to support his father's family and to store up knowledge of men and affairs. Living and making a living on a poor farm in South Carolina, under most adverse circumstances, he realized the hard lot of the poor and unfortunate, and it seems to me that then it was he must have read the words of Charles Dickens:

> If ever household affections and loves are graceful things, they are graceful in the poor. The ties that bind the wealthy and the proud to home may be forged on earth, but those which link the poor man to his humble hearth are of the truer metal and bear the stamp of Heaven. The man of high descent may love the halls and lands of his inheritance as a part of himself, as trophies of his birth and power; his associations with them are associations of pride and wealth and triumph; the poor man's attachment to the tenements he holds, which strangers have held before and may to-morrow occupy again, has a worthier root, struck deep into purer soil. His household goods are of flesh and blood, with no alloy of silver, gold, or precious stone; he has no property but in the affections of his own heart; and when they endear bare floors and walls, despite of rags and toil and scanty fare, that man has his love of home from God, and his rude hut becomes a solemn place.

His love of home, of wife, of children—his beautiful home life that he learned to live while he was yet poor and obscure—is evidence that the great novelist knew the real human heart, and it seems to me that in his early life

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our lamented friend must have breathed the same spirit that the same author expressed when he said:

> Oh! if those who rule the destinies of nations would but remember this—if they would but think how hard it is for the very poor to have engendered in their hearts that love of home from which all domestic virtues spring, when they live in dense and squalid masses where social decency is lost, or rather, never found—if they would but turn aside from the wide thoroughfares and great houses and strive to improve the wretched dwellings in byways where only poverty may walk—many low roofs would point more truly to the sky than the loftiest steeple that now rears proudly up from the midst of guilt and crime and horrible disease to mock them by its contrast.

With such an inspiration BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN must have been filled when he went out from his humble home and obscure place to lead the ignorant and the poor out into the bright light and clear sunshine of equal opportunity and freedom, and commenced to teach them anew the truth that Jefferson had written in the immortal Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these, governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

With this in mind he must have carried on his memorable campaign of education amongst the masses of the people of South Carolina and taught them how to vote in order that they might conduct their government in the interest of the whole people. About 1885 Mr. TILLMAN commenced a crusade, first through the press and later from the platform, to secure for the impoverished people of South Carolina better conditions of living.

The first speech that he ever delivered in public, in so far as I know, was delivered at Bennettsville, S. C., in the summer of 1885, and I well remember as a boy of 15 years

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of age hearing that speech in company with my father. Mr. TILLMAN was unused to public speech and had a prepared speech to read, but he had not proceeded far in a most awkward reading of it when he became disgusted with the attempt and threw his manuscript aside and launched out hesitatingly in the delivery of an extemporaneous speech which soon gained impetus and carried his audience with him. I shall never forget the expression of my father as we left the courthouse when he so well expressed my own youthful sentiments: "That man is a diamond in the rough," and so he afterwards demonstrated, but as time passed on the rough diamond was polished and smoothed and became the brightest jewel in the political crown of South Carolina, and one of the most brilliant stars in the American Nation.

The masses of the people had taken but little part in the political affairs of the State; he educated them to a realization of their rights and obligations. They had but poor educational advantages; he educated them to the idea that they were entitled to an education at the hands of the public. They had no college for the farmers' boys where they could educate the future farmers of the State; he builded Clemson College. They had no college for the young women of the State, and he caused Winthrop College for women to be builded. Each of these institutions now enrolls more than 1,000 students, and they stand as perpetual monuments to Gov. B. R. TILLMAN. Tens of thousands of young men and young women have received an education at these institutions which otherwise they could not have received, and their lives of usefulness are living pages in the book of life of Gov. TILLMAN.

He builded up the common schools, and so improved them that now a school is in the reach of practically every boy and girl within the State, as adequate, possibly, as the average State can afford.

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He caused a better system of analysis and inspection of fertilizers, and so prevented the practice of mammoth frauds on the farmers of the State.

He contributed largely to the adoption of the primary election system of nominating all officials, and thereby gave equal rights and privileges to all. He caused a constitutional convention to be held, and it adopted a constitution which greatly improved the organic law of the State and preserved for the time being the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the State. He grappled with the liquor evil, as then exercised through open barrooms, and realizing the necessity for the backing of public opinion, which was then not ripe for prohibition, instituted the system of State owned and controlled dispensaries, which subsequently became corrupt, but which paved the way for abolition of the whisky traffic in South Carolina.

All these things were accomplished only after the hardest and bitterest of political conflicts—bitter because he was bitterly opposed and criticized; hard because the opposition to Mr. TILLMAN was led by many of the best and brainiest men in the State who had controlled its policies and destinies and who could not see that a new day had dawned in the State.

In 1890 a preliminary convention of the representatives of the reform faction of the Democratic Party, headed by Mr. TILLMAN, was held in March, and this convention nominated a full State ticket, with Mr. TILLMAN as its candidate for governor, to be run for the regular Democratic nomination, and provided for a joint debate at each county seat between the candidates so put forward and any other candidates that might offer. Some of the most brilliant men in South Carolina joined issue with Mr. TILLMAN in the campaign, but his brilliant intellect, his keen wit, his ready retort, and his great learning were equal to every demand, and he carried the election with

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a tremendous majority and received the Democratic nomination. Bitter attacks were made on him, and this bitterness brought forth bitterness in return; but when the campaign was over he was ready to say, as Grant said after Appomattox, "Let us have peace." But not so. The opposition put out an independent candidate against him, but he was elected by an overwhelming majority, carrying every county in the State. He has since had the opportunity to pay a remarkable tribute to his competitor for the Democratic nomination in his first race for governor, the Hon. Joseph H. Earle, who was subsequently his colleague in the Senate for a short time, and this tribute paid on the floor of the Senate shows that Mr. TILLMAN could fight a good fight, a hard fight, a bitter fight with a worthy antagonist and yet retain the respect of that man and at the same time retain a high regard for the virtues of an honorable antagonist, and such his antagonist was in 1890.

In 1892 he was a candidate for reelection as governor of South Carolina, and he was opposed in the primaries by that brilliant orator and courtly gentleman, ex-Gov. John C. Sheppard; and again Mr. TILLMAN had an antagonist worthy of the best, but so strongly was he intrenched in the hearts of the great masses of the people that he was reelected governor of his State for another term, during which he retained his wonderful hold on the regard and affections of his people, so that at the expiration of his second term as governor he was able, after a memorable campaign, to defeat the gallant Matthew Calbraith Butler, who had so well and so long served his State in peace and in war; and thus began his great senatorial career.

I shall not dwell at length on the record made by Senator TILLMAN in this body. Many of you who served with him know that record more intimately than I do. Some of you remember the inexperienced legislator who came here with his pitchfork. You saw him in action, you

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heard him in debate, you counseled with him in conference, and you had the opportunity of learning the massiveness of his intellect, the bigness of his heart, his desire to serve his party, his State, and his Nation.

When others left the Democratic Party, believing that the interests of the people could be better served through the Populist Party, he kept his followers within the Democratic Party and tried to make that party more truly representative of the masses of the people; where evils had crept into his own party he did not hesitate to point them out and seek to correct them. When the Republican Party was in power he did not hesitate to join issue with them in any matter that did not comport with his sense of civic righteousness, and some of his speeches on the great political problems of the past quarter of a century will go down in history as classics of the period. His fights against special privilege, his demand for a greater and more elastic currency, his opposition to the exorbitant prices charged for steel plate for battleships, his struggles against harmful monopolies—all these are matters of history and can not be overlooked by the future student of American history; but possibly the greatest service that it was his fortune to render the American people was in the upbuilding of the American Navy while he was a member of and chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, and the last official act of the distinguished Senator, the last signature that he ever placed to any document, was his signature to the conference report on the part of the Senate to the greatest naval bill that ever passed the American Congress. Under his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs the American Navy was so increased and builded up that it now stands second only to that of Great Britain, and that Navy, with the assistance of those of our allies, made it possible for America to send across the ocean more than 2,000,000 of American soldiers to join with the other legions of liberty in

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the great war of democracy and freedom of the world without the loss of a single American transport. Under his leadership great navy yards were built and improved in all parts of the country where needed, and the one on the coast of his own State will always be linked with his name and remain a monument to his memory.

He loved his fellow man, he loved freedom, he loved liberty; and when the civilization of mankind was at stake, when the freedom and liberty of the world was threatened, when oppressed people were crying out for assistance, when American rights were disregarded and invaded, when the American flag was insulted, he declared that these conditions were intolerable and that he would vote for a declaration of war against Germany whenever the opportunity presented, and he lived to see his country and yours take its proper place in the affairs of the world, but alas! the grim reaper carried him over yonder before it was given to him to see the glorious emblem of liberty and freedom floating over the victorious troops of free America on the fields of France.

He played his part like a man, he fought his battles like a soldier, he died in the service of his country, as he wished to do, and his State and his country are the better for that he lived. He is gone but not forgotten. The memory of his service and achievement will linger long after all of those who knew him, who loved him, and respected him, shall have joined that great invisible host in the eternal over yonder.

Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from South Carolina, Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, I move that the Senate stand in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Monday, December 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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Proceedings in the House of Representatives

Wednesday, *July 3, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we thank Thee that amid the terrible conditions which confront us, and which have divided the world into two hostile camps, on the one hand to uphold and sustain liberty and justice, on the other to beat down liberty and justice and bring mankind under the brutal forces of those who would destroy the most sacred rights of men, that religion lives among the entente powers and is taking a deeper, firmer hold on the hearts of men.

The cry is, What of God? Is He indeed the Father of mankind or a King ruling with the scepter of might his subjects?

We thank Thee that the old conceptions of God, creeds, dogmas, which have divided men into innumerable sects, are passing away, giving place to the essentials—God, right, justice, mercy, love, the immortality of the soul, the eternal verities, disclosed by the Master on the Hill of Calvary.

Our hearts go out in sympathy this morning to the colleagues, friends, and those who are dear and near to the veteran Senator who has done a great work for his State and for his Nation and has passed on to the glories which await the faithful. Amen.

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MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Senate resolution 273.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. TILLMAN, to be held in the city of Trenton, S. C.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I present the following resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join with the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The Chair announced the following committee: Mr. Lever; Mr. Byrnes, of South Carolina; Mr. Ragsdale; Mr. Whaley; Mr. Nicholls, of South Carolina; Mr. Dominick; Mr. Stevenson; Mr. Padgett; Mr. Vinson; Mr. Butler; Mr. Cannon; Mr. Walsh; Mr. Fess; Mr. Elliott; Mr. Morgan; Mr. Langley; Mr. Williams; Mr. Austin; and Mr. French.

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The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, July 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

SATURDAY, *December 7, 1918.*

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from South Carolina rise?

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. I desire to ask unanimous consent that a session of the House be held on Sunday, December 15, in order that eulogies may be delivered upon the life, character, and public services of the late Senator TILLMAN, the session beginning at 12 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] asks unanimous consent that on Sunday, the 15th of December, there shall be a session of the House, beginning at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of memorializing Senator TILLMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. I ask leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. Lever, on account of a death in his family.

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates Mr. Lever, of South Carolina, to preside that day and wishes that he may be so notified. The gentleman also asks leave of absence for 10 days for his colleague, Mr. Lever, on account of

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death in his family. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SATURDAY, *December 14, 1918.*

The SPEAKER. At the memorial service for Senator TILLMAN to-morrow the Chair appoints the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever] to act as Speaker pro tempore.

SUNDAY, *December 15, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by Mr. Lever as Speaker pro tempore.

Rev. F. Ward Denys, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of all who have gone, to whom we come at this time in solemn consciousness that we ourselves must all sooner or later enter the realm of the everlasting, we invoke Thy divine guidance on this occasion, that this memorial may be a fitting expression of that which concerns the one who has gone into the realm which we all must enter, and that that which is said of him may become an imperishable evidence of the services that he, as a faithful servant of his Master and of his country, rendered in these Halls prior to his going to the halls of lasting glory. These and all things we ask in the name of Him who is the author and soul of all that is good and true and beautiful. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, December 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

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Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Stevenson].

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. STEVENSON, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. SPEAKER: The passing of Senator TILLMAN was an event which marked the closing of a remarkable career of a man in a remarkable period of the history of South Carolina and the history of the United States. I had known Senator TILLMAN since the beginning of his public career, and I desire to express what I have to say about him under three periods.

The first period of his public career was one of political agitation. Business conditions in South Carolina were at a very low ebb in 1885, when he opened his career as an agitator for the betterment of the agricultural conditions in the State. There was no agricultural educational facility worth the name in the State of South Carolina at that time. There was practically no agitation looking to the betterment of agricultural conditions and, although 10 years had elapsed since the people of the State had regained control of their affairs, there was probably less prosperity than there had been 5 or 10 years before.

At a meeting at Bennettsville, in the greatest farming county, from the cotton standpoint, in the cotton belt, in August, 1885, Mr. TILLMAN startled the State by an assault upon the dry rot, as he termed it, which was prevailing in South Carolina, and an assault upon what was considered to be the ark of the covenant, almost, upon which you did not dare to lay your hands. He brought about an agitation which was far-reaching, and whose effect has not yet ceased to be felt in South Carolina.

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At that time Capt. TILLMAN as he then was—captain of the Edgefield Hussars—had never asked for or held public office. He disclaimed any desire to hold public office; but he contended that there should be an agricultural institution in South Carolina which should have nothing but agricultural and mechanical education as its object, and have the united support of the agricultural interests of South Carolina.

A good deal of confusion has arisen as to the establishment of the institution which grew up out of that agitation. Claims and counterclaims have been made as to who established it. As a matter of fact, the legislature of 1888, before Senator TILLMAN became a public servant in any capacity, accepted the bequest of Thomas G. Clemson, and provided for the establishment of Clemson College, and in 1889 they made provision for the construction of the building. So, many have contended that it was not the work of Senator TILLMAN, because he did not come into power until December, 1890, when he became governor of the State; but they overlook the fact that the agitation which he set in motion brought about the will of Thomas G. Clemson, who left the John C. Calhoun estate to the State of South Carolina for the purpose of establishing Clemson College, and made Senator TILLMAN one of the life trustees in that will.

Therefore it can not be questioned that this agitation promoted the establishment of that institution, which was the apple of his eye as long as he lived, and which is one of the greatest agricultural institutions in the United States, and which has given untold benefits to the State of South Carolina. That is the fact as to the establishment of Clemson College. It was to TILLMAN, not as the governor, not as the legislator, but to TILLMAN as the political agitator, to whom we owe Clemson College, without any question or possibility of cavil, for that agitation

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before he ever aspired to public office forced the acceptance of the bequest and the establishment of the institution.

Senator TILLMAN was not a man who was unknown to political life, although he had never aspired to it. When he began his agitation it is instructive to look at the associates with whom he had grown up. The list of those who were in power in South Carolina, his fellows around the board when they met in social communion, were men of great distinction: United States Senator Gen. M. C. Butler, from Edgefield; Gov. John C. Shepherd, from Edgefield; Congressman George D. Tillman, his senior brother, from Edgefield; Commissioner of Agriculture Andrew Pickens Butler, from Edgefield; chairman of the Railroad Commission of South Carolina, Gen. Milledge L. Bonham, of Edgefield; solicitor of the judicial circuit in which he lived, Richard G. Bonham, from Edgefield; United States district attorney, Leroy F. Youmans, from Edgefield, first attorney general and then district attorney—these were the representatives of his county when he began the agitation, and were his associates of a lifetime.

To be sure they indicate that certainly in Edgefield political prominence and power were not wanting, and they indicate the fiber of the man who, with his own brother serving in this Hall, instituted a crusade against the conditions that then existed that was destined to hurl from power every man I have named in this distinguished list and leave them as political wrecks upon the shores of time. And yet Senator TILLMAN made that beginning, and the beginning culminated in 1890 when, at the call of the Farmers' Alliance, organized to attempt to ameliorate the conditions of this country, which was then in the throes of a financial panic, he became candidate for governor and was triumphantly elected in 1890.

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And that began the period of his career as governor. That career, Mr. Speaker, was one of very distinguished ability and very distinguished ideals. The first and the greatest of his constructive ideas was the establishment in South Carolina of an institution for the technical training of the girls of that State, which has grown now to be the jewel of all of our educational institutions. And yet the statement is frequently met that he was not the founder of Winthrop. That is true in one sense of the word. Winthrop College, for the training of the girls of the State, was founded as an institution in 1887. The annual appropriation for it was $5,200 a year, a paltry pittance beside the $150,000 that we were spending for education of the males of South Carolina.

When he came into the governorship one of his first moves was to provide for the establishment of that institution on a firm basis, and in the legislature of 1891 provision was made for the obtaining of a site and suitable building and making proper appropriation, and it was carried through by the people of Rock Hill, one of the progressive communities of the State, giving the State $60,000 to establish the institution within their midst. And to-day they house within the walls of that college, I believe, 1,500 girls, and could house 1,500 more if suitable buildings could be erected; and we appropriate $130,000 every year merely for the support of the institution. Directly as the result of his far-seeing statesmanship toward the education of the youth of South Carolina, you will find 80 per cent of the teachers in the public schools of that State who are the direct product of that great institution. And you go into the homes of South Carolina, all over the State, and you see them shaped by the splendid education that has been received in that college. I say that is the crowning work of his life as governor.

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He did several other things. The next was the solving of the suffrage question. We were confronted with a majority, on the popular vote of South Carolina, of 40,000 colored people, 40,000 colored votes if they all voted. It had been by the most strenuous and sometimes the most questionable methods that we had maintained white civilization and the control of the white people after we had once regained control, which it took a revolution to do. Senator TILLMAN by his influence as governor brought about the holding of a constitutional convention which settled the suffrage question, in my judgment, forever for South Carolina, because the census now shows that the increase in the white race has so greatly exceeded the increase in the colored race that the voting strength is now equal if all are registered and all capable of registering. But it was his statesmanship that forced the calling of a convention which put an educational and a property qualification upon the one who desired to vote, and the provision was made absolutely equal to all. All a man had to do was either to be able to write and to read the Constitution or have $300 worth of property on the tax books subject to taxation, and he could register and vote.

I have heard a good deal said sometimes in this Hall about the discrimination against the southern colored man as to voting. There is no discrimination and never has been in South Carolina since this constitution's adoption. That was the handiwork of Senator TILLMAN; and next to the establishment of Winthrop, I consider that the greatest work he ever accomplished in State affairs.

He did another thing which shows the remarkable boldness of the man, when he put the State of South Carolina into a monopoly of the liquor business, which most people concede now was a mistake and which after 14 years passed away. And those were the three great high-water marks of achievement in his career of governor.

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As a United States Senator he came to office at a time when the people of this country were crying out for an increased circulating medium, when our circulating medium was $27 a head. And when we reflect that to-day it is $56 a head, we can see what an enormous advance has been made. And he arraigned himself on the side of those who were in favor of a great increase and great elasticity in the currency of this country, which has been justified by the enactment of legislation in the last few years which has relieved the stringency and inelasticity of finance of this country to such an extent that Senator TILLMAN has been justified in every position he took on the financial question.

He also came here at a time when we were practically without a navy and when the construction of a navy was tied up by the extortion of the Steel Trust. He won the title of "Pitchfork Statesman" in his assault upon the people who furnished the armor plate for the construction of our Navy, a title that has gone with him to his grave as a title of honor and one of which he was more proud than of any other title he ever received.

And his history here as United States Senator was bound up with the history of the development of the Navy and the development of the interests in building up the Navy until it was crowned by the establishment of an armor-plate factory, for which he contended 15 years before it came, and the administration and the efficiency of a navy which has been a thing of pride and a comfort during the late war through which we have passed, and we have all had to acknowledge the efficiency, the power, the modesty, and the high-toned conditions of this branch of the service.

As a literary man the Senator was unsurpassed in the use of the English language, in logic that went to the heart of every matter, and his most conspicuous effort, in my

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judgment, in that line was the correspondence conducted with Mr. Henry Watterson, of Louisville, Ky., and Mr. George Harvey, of New York, a few years ago when they combined in an assault upon the then Gov. Wilson, of New Jersey, who was being talked of as a candidate for the presidency, and a perusal of the correspondence between Senator TILLMAN and them will show how he unhorsed the two past masters in the use of English, and swept away the cobwebs of injustice which they were hanging about the neck of Mr. Wilson; and this helped materially to promote Mr. Wilson's nomination and election to the Presidency.

Now, just one word I wanted to say as to Senator TILLMAN in his private life. For 33 years he and I were personal friends. We frequently divided politically, but the personal relations between us have always been the most cordial; and I consider the strong point which made him unassailable in almost every walk of life was the beautiful character of his family life, which caused him to lean upon and trust and take counsel of his helpmeet, his wife, who stood around him like a protecting wall through all these years; the family life of that man was a benediction, and such a signpost as to point every man to the way of high living in social circles, such that no finger of scorn and no tongue of scandal can assail.

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Address of Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: We are met to pay tribute to the memory of one of South Carolina's great men, in order that the record of this Congress may contain an estimate of the career of one of her great statesmen. It is unnecessary that tributes should be paid in order that his State or the Nation might be impressed with the great value of his services or with the nobleness of his character, because his service in the Nation's Congress speaks for itself. It was not my privilege to have known Senator Tillman intimately, but I recall as a young man, when following speeches and the career of men in the United States Senate, the impression that was made when he first came to the Capital of the Republic. I remember how he first attracted the attention of the citizens of the Nation and left his mark as a fearless statesman. He impressed me as one who despised all sham and as one who was not afraid to speak plainly upon any issue or upon any question. He went to the meat of any subject which he undertook to discuss, and he argued and debated with a strength that impresed one as that of a man discussing a question with his whole soul.

I happened to be designated upon the committee that went upon that sad journey when the remains of Senator Tillman were consigned to their last resting place. No one who was present upon that occasion but would be impressed with the deep sense of loss that was apparent amid the surrounding throng who came to attend the funeral exercises. As I before stated, he was one of South Carolina's great statesmen. He left behind him a name which will be remembered and revered in the days to come. That State has given many great men to the Na-

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tion's service—Calhoun, Hampton, Butler—but in these days those who have been privileged to serve with BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN I am sure will be of the opinion that his name and his career is fit to be placed upon the same high pedestal to which we look when we think of those men who went before him.

I am reminded that Senator TILLMAN at one time delivered an address in which he compared and linked up, so to speak, the great history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which I have the honor in part to represent, and that of the State of South Carolina. It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that to-day in the other branch of this Congress the senior Senator from my State is among those who are paying tribute to the memory and career of Senator TILLMAN. I refer to the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, who I believe was designated by Senator TILLMAN, either just before his death or some time ago, to speak upon his career when he should have gone.

Senator TILLMAN, although he brought great fame to the State of South Carolina, will stand forth not only as one of that State's great men, but as one of the Nation's statesmen, one who was intimately connected with many of the great problems with which we have had to contend in these later years. I was interested in hearing of his early activities in the State of South Carolina, and how with that remarkable courage, that indomitable will, he forced himself and the issues which he stood for to the front and gained a place among the councils of his State. We pay this tribute with respect and reverence, with the assurance that his memory will ever be kept green, and that his career will be looked upon as a worthy example to those who aspire to represent others either in the State or the Nation with that fearless and direct courage to which the people are entitled.

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Address of Mr. Dominick, of South Carolina

Mr. Speaker: Benjamin Ryan Tillman sat in the seat of the immortal Calhoun in the United States Senate for nearly 24 years—a longer time than anyone else has served as a Senator from South Carolina. At the time of his entry into South Carolina politics I was only a boy, but the events that followed and the leading part he played for more than a quarter of a century have left some vivid recollections. South Carolina, among all of the States, has been noted for having more politics for its size than any other State in the Union, and from the beginning of her history many of its campaigns have attracted nation-wide interest. She has furnished her quota of public men and statesmen, who have not only left their impress upon the history of the State but upon the history of the Nation, and among those public men and statesmen Tillman's name will have to be written.

I will not attempt in this sketch to review South Carolina politics and affairs. The conditions immediately following the Civil War and the corruption of a régime from 1868 up until 1876, when the white people determined to regain control of their governmental affairs, are well known. However, after the political revolution of 1876, resulting in the redemption of the State, there developed an idea among the people that the masses did not have a proper voice in the government, and there was much complaint of government of "aristocracy," "Bourbons," and "ring rule," and in some quarters it was charged that the governor and State officers were named and chosen at the annual dinner of a prominent social club in South Carolina. This naturally resulted in

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a great deal of unrest among the masses of the people and they were beginning to be prepared for the political revolution that occurred in 1890.

Living in the county of Edgefield, near the banks of the Savannah River, was a farmer, unheard of and unknown, but whose family had written their names upon the brightest pages of the history of the State. This farmer was BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN. His brother, Jim Tillman, as Bishop Capers declared at a great rally in the city of Columbia, was the "oriflamme of his regiment" in the war of the Confederacy, and the name of Tillman can be found upon the rolls of those who fought in all of the wars of this country—the War of the Revolution, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, in which one of his nephews was a colonel, and afterwards lieutenant governor of his State, and the great World War—one of his sons being now in France, having gone there as captain of his company, and now being in charge as major of his battalion. George D. Tillman for 16 years sat as a Member of this body, and was recognized throughout the Nation as one of its greatest statesmen. BEN TILLMAN, this farmer, taking his cue from the Ellenton riot, from the dark days of '76, and that matchless and gallant leader, Mart Gary, who was known as "The Bald Eagle of Edgefield," picked up the threads of the movement where they were left by him. He knew the conditions of the masses of the people; he came forward and went on the rostrum. At that time it is stated that he was ridiculed and laughed at on account of his poor showing on the stump, notwithstanding the fact that he afterwards developed into one of the greatest stump speakers South Carolina has ever produced. He knew, though, that behind him there was a vast multitude of people who were demanding justice and who were looking to him as their leader. He appeared in the

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State convention of 1888, and went down in defeat as a leader of the minority in that convention.

He went back to his home, continued his agitation, and in the historic March convention of 1890 he was nominated for governor of South Carolina. The campaign that followed is memorable in the history of our State, and no true record can be written of it that does not record its causes and great effects. Mr. TILLMAN was elected governor by an overwhelming vote of the white people. After a stormy administration of two years he became a candidate for reelection as governor and was opposed by a distinguished fellow citizen of his own county and ex-governor of the State. In that campaign South Carolina was again aroused from the mountains to the seaboard, and partisanship and passion ran high, but again a majority of the voters said that he should be their governor. Two years more of his administration was marked by storm and discord, but it gave to the masses that which they sought—freedom of thought and political liberty, which God intended they should have. His terms as governor of South Carolina were signalized by the establishment of the Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College for boys, at Calhoun's old home, Fort Hill—an agitation which was begun by him in 1886, for industrial and technical education in South Carolina—and this, with the establishment of Winthrop College for girls, stands forth to-day as the greatest educational achievement in the history of the State.

His administration was also signalized by the establishment of the State dispensary system for the control of the liquor traffic, which many people believed then, and believe to-day, that under proper management is the best solution of the liquor problem. This system was established in the face of an overwhelming vote in favor of prohibition at the election in 1892, and was the cause of

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much discord in the political, social, and personal affairs of the people of South Carolina. The enforcement of this law, during the latter part of his last administration as governor, gave him an opportunity to show his ability as a bold and daring fighter, which characterized him throughout his political career. In March, 1894, in a clash between some of the constables appointed by him for the enforcement of this law and some citizens at Darlington, who thought that their rights had been invaded, some were killed and many others wounded, and the riot which ensued came near resulting in serious trouble throughout the State. However, Gov. TILLMAN took charge of the situation, ordered out the entire militia of the State, took charge of the telegraph lines and railroads, and very soon restored order, and there was no further trouble.

When he had served two terms as governor he was overwhelmingly elected to the United States Senate—having made a county to county canvass throughout the State for that office.

Senator TILLMAN was a striking figure, and he is missed by the people of his State and in the councils of the Nation. He will go down in the history of South Carolina and of this Nation as one of the strongest men who has served South Carolina as governor or represented her in the United States Senate. Of his services as a Senator they can and will be spoken of better by those who served with him there for the past quarter of a century, but on this occasion I can not refrain from quoting the closing paragraphs of an editorial written by John K. Aull, in the Charleston American, upon the death of Senator TILLMAN:

Undoubtedly, while he went to Washington under most unwelcome conditions, being openly hostile to what he believed to be the wicked Cleveland régime, his genius soon allayed the errors and suspicions of his confreres and he became a shining

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light. Space does not permit us to sketch even briefly the many commanding positions he assumed in legislation, nor is this the place. We have watched him there upon the Senate floor matching his genius with giants of the old days and coming off never second best. His name will long live to heighten the fame of Carolina in a body whose traditions number among them the glory of Calhoun.

Even had his health not failed him, it is gravely doubtful if in recent or future years he could mingle with the same zest amongst the almost entirely new faces in the Senate. His old colleagues were gone. They were to him merely spirits that cast perhaps across his daily path through the Senate aisle shadows of bygone days, days when the polished Senator Hoar, who learned so warmly to love him, referred, not banteringly, but earnestly to him as "the best lawyer in the Senate." Hoar, Vest, Bacon, Allison, Daniel, Hale, Cockrell, Aldrich, and many like them, who left him one by one for awhile are with him now—for although many of these differed with him and often with one another, they were all one in pure Americanism, loving and serving the land they honored with an untarnished patriotism.

So let us leave him with them. The light of heaven shines upon those mooted questions over which they opposed only the feeble light of even their great intellects. There will be no "adjournments" there, no "points of order," no "filibuster," no tariffs, subsidies, or silver question to wrangle over, but all sweet peace, truth, harmony, and happiness forever.

What more appropriate may we say than that he deserves the lines written upon the death of Napoleon:

"The lightnings may flash and the loud thunders rattle;
He heeds not, he hears not; he's free from all pain;
He sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle;
No sound can awake him to glory again!"

In his native soil, in the little village of Trenton, there now rests in peace one who forged his way to a high place among the truly great of this Nation, and

Taller he seems in death.

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Address of Mr. Padgett, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker: I feel that I can add nothing, or but little at best, to the eloquent tributes that have already been spoken concerning the life work of a splendid character who figured prominently for more than a quarter of a century in the national affairs of our Government. I, however, was associated largely with him, he being chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate and I of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House. This afforded an opportunity for official and personal association.

I desire, first of all, to bear testimony to the cordial good friendship which existed between us. Senator Tillman was a unique character. He was built in a mold strictly his own. He was unique in many respects, and the very uniqueness of his character not only attracted attention but challenged admiration. He was a man of strong personality. His personality was positive and decidedly his own. We can not find, I think, in private or public life a duplicate of Senator Tillman. He possessed traits of personal character that not only attracted, not only challenged our esteem, but gained for him admiration, and brought him forward prominently in the affairs of the Government.

He was a man of strong convictions. There was nothing, if I may use a homely expression, of milk and cider in his composition. He was a man who believed sincerely and strongly whatever he believed, and he had the courage to express his convictions. He was a man of persistent purpose. Once he was convinced of the righteousness of his cause, once he was satisfied of the desirability of his course of conduct, once that it came to him as a

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conviction of duty, there was no let up. Continually, persistently he strove for that which his judgment and his conscience approved. As we stand under these circumstances, and would give expression not in mere formal words, but in the sincere convictions which we entertain of the man, all of us must admire this persistency of purpose, this strength of conviction, this strong personality.

He was a man of strong likes and dislikes. A man who has a strong personality, who has a persistent purpose, who has strong convictions of right and of wrong, a man who draws the line tautly between right and wrong in personal life, in private affairs, in public affairs, in the duties and responsibilities of government, could not be otherwise in the natural order of things than a man of strong likes and dislikes. He drew his friends to him with a strong grasp, and those in whom he did not have confidence—those whose integrity of purpose or of character he doubted—he repelled, because there was a congeniality between Senator TILLMAN and the truth, and there was an aspersion between him and guile and wrong. Hence it is that when we speak of him as a man of strong likes, a man in whom flowed strongly and vigorously the milk of human kindness for those who shared his esteem, we must at the same time admire that corollary attribute of character that he despised hypocrisy and made it manifest on all occasions.

He broke away from the established custom of conservatism. That was natural, and that was one of the prominent outstanding traits of his character, and one of the strong, predominant features of his life and his services.

Most of us run along in the way of least resistance. We go along the line of established organization, of established conservatism. It was not so with Senator TILLMAN. He had some convictions about the existing order of things. Some things were going along which did not re-

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ceive the sanction of his judgment or the approval of his conscience, and he broke away completely and strongly from the organized conservatism of the day and started out on lines of his own thought and of his own judgment and approval.

I would not seek to compare him in all respects, but the suggestion occurs to me that in the olden days John the Baptist broke away from the established conservatism in religious affairs. John Knox broke away from the established organization. Martin Luther battled the conservatism which he believed was not only promulgating but establishing error and wrong. And in political matters in his State, and to some extent in the Nation, Senator TILLMAN broke away from this organized conservatism, and he challenged the thought and attention, and he brought the thought and attention of the people of his own State and of the Nation to think along other and different lines.

Senator TILLMAN was honest. He became known here and was often spoken of as "honest BEN TILLMAN." However much anyone differed with him, however much they might separate themselves from his conclusions, however much they might challenge his doctrines of political economy, no one ever doubted or really challenged his personal honesty and integrity of character or his political honesty and sincerity of purpose.

Again, Mr. Speaker, he was faithful to the trust that was reposed in him. No one has ever called him a derelict in politics. No one has ever spoken of him as in any way betraying the trust and the confidence which the people, not only of his State but of the Union, reposed in him, as an honest man and a public servant. So that to-day, under these surroundings, we can speak of him as an honest man and a faithful public servant.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, coming here as he did under peculiar and unique surroundings, occupying at the first a

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strange and unique attitude that called forth many criticisms and comments in the papers, causing individuals and the press to speak in terms that were out of the ordinary routine of political literature, he grew in the esteem and in the affection of his associates and of the country.

During the past summer the end came, somewhat suddenly. I was selected as one of the committee to go to his home in South Carolina to lay away his body for the resurrection. It was only his body that we laid in the ground, not BEN TILLMAN. His spirit had risen into that higher, nobler, grander, larger, better life where the aspirations of his soul in all the years of his life—and a large, rich life it had been—had said, "It is not death but life I crave; a larger, better, richer, fuller life I would have."

He realized it, and he has gone to the reward of the just. Wherever the honest, wherever the faithful are, Senator TILLMAN is there, and he has left here with us the name, the reputation, the character of an honest and faithful man.

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Address of Mr. Nicholls, of South Carolina

Mr. Speaker: It is indeed hard for me to add anything to the wonderful tributes and the just tributes that have been paid here to our deceased colleague, Senator Tillman. I come from the people and from the section of the country that, when Tillman started, were bitterly opposed to him. From the time I was a child I had been taught that Senator Tillman was representing what was not best for the State, although the people with whom I most associated did not for one minute question his honor or his integrity. On one occasion when I was a mere boy I was talking to the overseer on a large plantation in my home county. He was, as we knew the word, a strong Tillmanite. The man who owned that plantation was as bitter against Senator Tillman as any man in South Carolina. The overseer and the man who owned the plantation had been boys together before the Civil War. In fact, the overseer's father had been the overseer of the owner's father before the Civil War.

I asked him, purely from curiosity, "How in the world can you support Tillman?" He said: "Sam, So-and-So told me the other day that we needed a reform in South Carolina; that ring rule had long existed; and that while he was a party in a way to the ring rule, something ought to be done, and that something ought to be started to give the honest, common people a chance to have a voice in this Government. I said"—that is, this man said—"'That is exactly what Tillman is trying to do.' He said: "It should be done, but I don't think Tillman is the man." And this overseer said to me, "It did not occur to me that it made any particular difference who the man was, what we wanted was a reform, and we could change the man

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if we found he was not the right one." To-day, Mr. Speaker, the man who made that remark about not believing that Senator TILLMAN was the right man is his friend and was his friend at the time of his death.

As one of my colleagues has stated, and I truly believe, there is no State in the Union where politics is so bitter and so partisan as in my own State of South Carolina. I am not referring to the two great parties, but to factional politics within the party. One reason that I give for this is because in our State all candidates for office go upon the same stump and have joint debates which at times get very personal. Their followers naturally take sides, and I have seen the time in South Carolina—and my other colleagues from there have seen the same thing—when a man almost took his life in his hand to go upon the stump there on either side.

When I was a boy I once asked why Senator TILLMAN was not afraid of having more fights, as I expressed it, and a gentleman from our home town said, "Well, I will tell you, Sam, why he is not afraid. It is because most of the fighting men are on his side of the proposition." That was largely true, for the people of South Carolina thought that they had been mistreated by certain politicians, and the people of South Carolina who supported Senator TILLMAN were willing to fight for those rights of which they thought they had been deprived, and they got behind him and elected him governor. What a howl went up through this country.

Almost every newspaper, not only of South Carolina but throughout the United States, called him a demagogue, called him everything that they could well call him and not be indicted for libel. What did he do? He "stuck to his guns," if you will pardon a crude expression. He worked for the interests he had promised to serve. He was not afraid. No man in the State could run him

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from the stump. He went before his people, and he advocated their cause. He was reelected governor in spite of strong opposition from strong men. The money powers of his State, while, of course, I do not charge them with being corrupt, were against him. The newspapers of the State were largely against him, but the masses of the toiling people of South Carolina stood behind him. He was reelected governor, as I said, and afterwards was elected to the United States Senate. Why, Mr. Speaker, I remember, although at that time I was too young to have any voice in politics, that there was strong talk in South Carolina that the Senate would not seat him when he came. But he was seated; and, Mr. Speaker, in his early days here, with that strong tongue that he had, he caused some men who had mocked and laughed at him to be very strong for him before he got through. He turned out to be not what the papers said he was, a radical and an obstructionist. I will not say at the time of his death that he was what South Carolina would have called a conservative. Senator TILLMAN could not be conservative. As my colleague from Tennessee [Mr. Padgett] has stated, when he believed a thing there could be no conservatism. He worked to the end that he thought was right.

When I came to Washington, if you will pardon me for referring to myself, and I do it for the reason that I did not know him well when I came here, I went to his office the first day and said, "Senator, I came in to pay my respects."

He knew pretty well the attitude of every man in South Carolina as to himself. If you mentioned a man from Barnwell, Spartanburg, Columbia, Oconee, if he was a man of any political prominence, Senator TILLMAN could tell you how he stood with him in his politics. I said, "Senator, I came in to pay my respects." He said, "Sam,

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I am glad to see you here, but I have not a particle of use for your politics." That was his blunt way of speaking. It made me angry, and I said, "Senator, I have got no more for yours than you have for mine." He said, "I will make a trade with you. If you will let me alone over there I will let you alone over here." I said, "You have traded." And I walked out of his office. The next day the 'phone rang, and the Senator said, "Sam, can you come to my office?" I went over, and he said, "I did not mean anything yesterday. We have differed in politics, but I want us to get along together. You are a new man, a young man, and I possibly can give you advice and information that you will need." I shook hands with the Senator, and from that day to the day of his death he was like a father to me. There was no time when I needed advice that I did not go to Senator TILLMAN, knowing that I would get good and honest advice.

To show you the character of the Senator, the night before the last campaign opened I went to him and asked him to do a favor for a friend of mine. It turned out that we were both very much criticized by some of the newspapers because we granted the favor, a favor which was nothing more than was just and right. The Senator at that time thought that he would be in the race for the Senate again. I went to Senator TILLMAN and I said, "Senator, I know that you made this recommendation because I asked you to do it, because you believed I would not mislead you. Feeling as I do about it, I believe it my duty to come out in the papers and state that I will take the whole responsibility for that action in case it hurts you in your race." He said, "I will not let you do it. I will never put the responsibility for what I do on any man. It is true your recommendation had something to do with my signing it, but I have signed it and I am behind it."

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That shows you, Mr. Speaker, the manner of man that Senator TILLMAN was. I am sorry I have been unable, on account of being away from the city, to write what I consider a fitting eulogy of this great man. Our State, as has been well said, has produced great men, but no man in the history of South Carolina has ever been in a position to make bigger history, to make more lasting history than Senator TILLMAN. We all remember at the time when the Democratic Party took charge of the Senate there was some talk throughout the country that Senator TILLMAN wanted to be chairman of another committee than Naval Affairs. He was made chairman of Naval Affairs, and, Mr. Speaker, I would rather be chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee or of the Military Affairs Committee, if I cared to go down in history and properly serve my country in the time of this great world war, than to be chairman of any committee in either branch of Congress.

He was not stingy; he was not extravagant. He believed that what was necessary in this war should be given and freely given. And he gave to the service of his country one of the noblest boys whom I know. He was my personal friend. I say he gave him to his country, but fortunately he has not been killed. He is in France now. He is a "chip off the old block," and I am proud to say that, although this country has sustained the loss of our great statesman, he leaves one or more behind him who some day may be able to in part fill his place.

The last time I talked with Senator TILLMAN was the day before his last stroke of paralysis. He was discussing every phase of the war and seemed to think that his days were numbered. He told me that he hoped, regardless of politics in South Carolina, he would live long enough to see America and her allies victorious in this war. If he had lived that long, I believe his every ambition would have been fulfilled. My great regret is that

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God in His infinite wisdom did not see fit to allow him to live to see the plans which he had so carefully prepared carried out to a successful conclusion.

He died as he had lived, "with his boots on," fighting for the people, for democracy, and for everything that he thought right and just for the upbuilding of humanity.

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Address of Mr. Whaley, of South Carolina

Mr. Speaker: Believing that others who will speak on this occasion will give a biographical sketch of South Carolina's illustrious son in whose honor we have met, I shall avoid the probability of repetition and undertake a brief analysis of those characteristics of the late Senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman which made him so valuable a citizen and governor of the State of South Carolina and such an effective Member of the United States Senate.

Tillman was born on a farm, reared on a farm, and, after the attainment of the years of manhood, followed agriculture as an occupation. It is said that his agricultural experience was not particularly successful, and in this respect he had much in common with the agricultural producers of his time, not only in South Carolina but throughout the United States. During his years of ill-rewarded efforts upon the farm, his observation, his difficulties, and his disappointments impressed indelibly upon his mind the severe disadvantages and the great discouragements which all too frequently surround the agricultural producer. It was through an endeavor to alleviate the condition of the farming class that Tillman entered public life and gave his attention primarily to the solution of the great problems which must be solved before American agriculture can be placed upon a firm and satisfactory foundation.

From his youth he had grappled with the most practical problems in a most practical way. He learned in the hard school of adversity. His principles of economics were not gleaned from books. Although he was in later life one of the best-read men in the best of literature, the mental training which enabled him to achieve success

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was acquired chiefly as an incident and result of his daily observation of the circumstances under which the producing classes labor and the evils with which they must contend.

He beheld ignorance among people who were conducting an industry which requires the widest training and skill.

He observed injustice which deprived the agricultural worker of the due reward of his labor. Contemplation of these evils and injustices not only developed in him a power to reason, but nourished deep-seated emotions which became predominating features of his political activities and public addresses. No amount of abstract economic reasoning would have produced the political revolution which he led prior to his election to the governorship of South Carolina. In the words of an illustrious President of the United States, the farmers of South Carolina were "confronted by conditions, and not theories." No ordinary methods would have aroused them to united effort sufficiently organized and sufficiently aggressive to overthrow those who were at that time dominant in the public affairs of his State.

It has been asserted and is quite likely true that TILLMAN frequently indulged in extravagances of statement which more deliberate and careful men would have avoided. No one, however, has ever accused him of overstating a fact for an ulterior of selfish purpose. Dealing with conditions which required heroic remedies, he made his attacks with what might be considered a reckless abandon, upon the assumption that the end justified the means. He was seeking results, and his overwhelming victory in the face of tremendous opposition seems to have justified the measures he adopted. That a farmer should be elected and reelected governor of South Carolina at that time in the political history of the State was an accomplish-

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ment which could not have been achieved by the ordinary weapons of political conflict.

TILLMAN's mind was that of a nonconformist. He acknowledged the binding force of no political conventionalities. Before he had been one month in the United States Senate he had broken the rule which requires silence on the part of a new Member and had made a speech which earned him the sobriquet of "Pitchfork TILLMAN." From that day to the time of his retirement from active participation in the work of the Senate he was recognized as a factor to be considered in almost every important piece of legislation. He was not one who delighted to participate in discussion merely for the purpose of showing his skill in debate, but, whenever any subject appealed to him as calling for action on his part, he threw the whole power of his keen intellect, his marvelous skill at repartee, and his unsurpassed command of vitriolic language into the discussion.

He asked no quarter and he gave none. Naturally this style of fighting made him few warm personal friends but aroused many enemies. It is a well known and universally acknowledged fact, however, that none of the animosities thus aroused cost him either the confidence or the respect of his associates. His honesty of purpose was not brought in dispute. Knowing the purity of his motives, even those who felt the sting of his arrows admired his skill and held him personally in the highest esteem. His diatribes furnished frequent occasion for jest, but they supplied little humor to those who were the objects of his invective.

Unlike most men who enter upon crusades against economic evils, TILLMAN was not destructive. He founded the Clemson College for the training of the young men in agriculture and the applied sciences. He established the Winthrop Normal and Industrial School for Women. He secured the enactment of more just and equitable laws

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for the assessment of taxes. He secured the election of railroad commissioners by the people, with authority vested in them to fix passenger and freight rates. He secured the enactment of the primary system of party nominations. He was the author of the dispensary law which eliminated the public barroom from South Carolina and led the way for prohibition. These were a few of the more important accomplishments of four years in the governorship, during which time he had as strong an opposition as ever a governor faced.

Entering the United States Senate in 1895, he was for 23 consecutive years a Member of that body. Although the Republicans were in control of the Senate when the railroad rate bill was under consideration in 1906, a split among the Republicans threw the management of that measure upon Senator TILLMAN—a task which he performed with much credit to himself and to his party. He was an advocate of a large navy and made his influence felt. In the framing of a multitude of important measures he participated actively, always fearlessly and aggressively representing what he believed to be the best interests of the people of the United States and of his own State.

To the youth of America the career of BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN should be of interest. It will be worth while for them to remember that it was through no favor of good fortune or prestige of family that he attained his high position in the councils of our Government. Neither was it personal ambition that led him into public life. He saw the need of public reforms, and, although the task was great and the prospect of success doubtful, he undertook it without hesitation and devoted himself without reserve to the amelioration of the condition of his fellow citizens. He had few of the advantages of school education but neglected no opportunity for the improvement of his

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mind. He had confidence in himself and accepted his own judgment as his guide, even though he diverged from the course and methods laid down by American political leaders during a century of our national history.

His career emphasizes the value of practical experience in early youth, courage to undertake a difficult task, and willingness to be a nonconformist when sound judgment and high motives indicate that as the proper course. It would be difficult to find in American political history another instance of a man whose public career shows advancement direct from the farm to the governorship and thence to the United States Senate solely as the result of individual merit and ability.

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Address of Mr. Byrnes, of South Carolina

Mr. Speaker: Benjamin Ryan Tillman, the man whose memory we to-day honor, was born in Edgefield County, S. C., August 11, 1847. He was a son of Benjamin Ryan Tillman and Sophia Hancock, and was the youngest of 11 children. When he was but 2 years of age his father died, and he was reared by his mother on the plantation about 12 miles from the town of Edgefield. He studied at home under private tutors until he was 14 years of age, when he attended a school conducted by Mr. George Golphin, a scholarly man who enjoyed the distinction of having served as tutor to Senator Butler, Gen. Mart Gary, and many others prominent in the political life of South Carolina. In July, 1864, when not quite 17 years of age, he left school and volunteered in the service of the Confederate Army, but while on his way to join the army he was taken sick, and it was during this illness that he lost his left eye by reason of the formation of an abscess. For two years he was an invalid. Upon his recovery he went to Florida, where he spent a year, returning in 1868 to Edgefield County, where he engaged in farming. While thus engaged Senator Tillman devoted his leisure time to study, in his own language, "reading everything of value he could lay his hands upon." He had the most retentive memory of any man I ever knew, and it enabled him in recent years to quote from the poets verses he had not read for years. Even in speeches delivered by him in early life this familiarity with the old masters was evident, and was a constant source of surprise to those who knew that he had not enjoyed the privilege of a college or university course.

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When, in 1876, the white people of South Carolina determined to overthrow the rule of the carpetbagger, the scalawag, and the negro, TILLMAN participated with all the force and aggressiveness that has characterized every effort of his life. He organized the Red Shirts in that community. Under Capt. A. P. Butler he participated in what is known as the Hamburg riot; and on that occasion demonstrated his physical courage and his capacity for leadership. With the Edgefield Hussars he started to the Ellenton riot, but his company did not reach there in time to participate in the fight.

With the redemption of the State from negro rule, TILLMAN resumed his quiet life upon the farm, and from this seclusion did not emerge until 1885, when he went to Bennettsville, S. C., as a delegate to the annual meeting of the South Carolina Agricultural Society. TILLMAN had never delivered a public address, but upon reaching Bennettsville he announced that he was going to address the convention and would have something out of the ordinary to say to the delegates. He did not disappoint them. He pictured the poverty of the farmers, three-fourths of whom were borrowing money upon their crops before they were made, and with fiery eloquence he denounced the State officials for their indifference to the agricultural interests of the State. He urged the farmers to demand the establishment of an agricultural school worthy of the name, in connection with the South Carolina College, and to require the board of agriculture to annually hold farmers' institutes in the various counties of the State. He spoke for an hour, and when he concluded, though neither he nor his hearers realized it, he had started a revolution in the State of South Carolina.

From that day, August 5, 1885, to the day of his death, July 3, 1918, TILLMAN occupied the center of the political stage in South Carolina, and the story of his public life

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is the story of the political life of the State. To appreciate the impression made by his Bennettsville speech, one has to understand the political conditions then existing. Prior to the Civil War the State of South Carolina was ruled by a small group of men of great intelligence and of high character, most of whom resided in Charleston and Columbia. The State officials were generally selected by this group from among the professional men of the State. The one-horse farmer and the man without social standing never dreamed of his having the right to hold office and he even entertained some doubt as to his right to vote. Certainly, had one of them announced his candidacy for office, he would have been in imminent danger of sequestration in an asylum for the insane. At the conclusion of the war the old leaders, their heirs and assigns, immediately resumed their control of the Democratic Party; but as there was a majority of 30,000 negroes of voting age, the Republican Party, composed of the negroes, the carpetbaggers, and the scalawags, were able to control the elections and did run the State government until 1876, when negro rule was overthrown and white supremacy established for all time.

Immediately following 1876 there was a natural disposition on the part of the rank and file of the people to blindly follow the leadership of the men who had controlled the party in the fight for the redemption of the State. Again there was the realization that any division within the party would endanger the freedom so dearly purchased. Consequently any criticism of the conduct of the State government was met with the warning that such a course would cause a division in the party and make possible a recurrence of negro rule with all of its horrors and outrages. It is manifest that this condition of affairs made it easy for the old leaders to perpetuate their control of the government. Conditions were such

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that corruption in the government could have existed without the knowledge of the people. But to the everlasting credit of those in control it must be said that, notwithstanding their autocratic power and the unlimited opportunity for misuse of that power, careful and even hostile investigation in after years failed to disclose evidence of corruption on the part of a single State official. The honesty of those in control was testified to by Senator TILLMAN in an address delivered in the Senate in 1898, when he described the conditions then existing in the following language:

> The State was democratic or independent in national politics, but it was aristocratic in local affairs. This aristocracy, be it said to its credit, gave to the State as good government, so far as purity and honesty is concerned, as any country ever had. But a prouder, more arrogant, or hot-headed ruling class never existed.

With this statement of the political conditions one can appreciate the sensation caused by the speech of TILLMAN at Bennettsville in August, 1885. It brought down upon his head the wrath of the press as well as of the political leaders. "Farmer Ben" became the target for their satire and abuse. In a series of letters he defended his course and urged upon the farmers of the State his suggestion to establish an agricultural college. He cited the agricultural colleges of Mississippi and of Michigan as proof of the practicability and the wisdom of his suggestion, and published a lot of data secured from Stephen D. Lee, then president of the Mississippi college. His letters enlisted the support of many of the leading farmers of the State, who in the spring of 1886 held a convention at which resolutions indorsing his views were adopted. As the desired object could be accomplished only by legislation, it was inevitable that the "Farmers' Alliance," as it was called, should take an interest in the elections.

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The old leaders, however, still firmly held the reins and the movement had not attained sufficient momentum to wrest control from them.

TILLMAN continued his agitation, delivering addresses in various counties of the State during the year 1887. In the political campaign of 1888 the farmers endeavored to induce several of the old political leaders to lead their fight, but their efforts were in vain. Two years later, in the spring of 1890, what was known as the "Shell Manifesto" was issued, a document that became the platform of the reform movement. A convention followed and TILLMAN was selected as the nominee for governor. Attorney General Earle and Gen. Bratton were later selected as the nominees of the faction that became known as the Conservatives. Of the seven hundred lawyers of the State only forty were known to be supporters of TILLMAN. The press was unanimously opposed to him, but a joint debate was held in every county of the State, and as nearly every man, woman, and child in the State turned out to hear the speakers, TILLMAN was able to present his cause to the people. The feeling between the factions became so great that at many meetings the speakers were unable to make themselves heard, the factions engaging in a contest to see which could cheer their champion the loudest and the longest. After the first few meetings there was never any doubt about the result, and TILLMAN was nominated, carrying all but four counties of the State.

Dissatisfied with the result, the opposition placed an independent ticket in the field in the general election, but many of the Conservative leaders of the opposition failed to support the independent movement, and the followers of TILLMAN were even more determined, the result being the overwhelming election of Capt. TILLMAN.

In this campaign TILLMAN demonstrated his wonderful ability as a stump speaker. Picturesque figure that

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he was, with his Napoleonic features, shaded by his broad-brimmed hat, he never failed to attract the attention of the people. In this campaign he spoke to the people in a language they understood, of their right to participate in the government of the State, and not merely to register the will of others. In passionate language he denounced the editor of the News and Courier, Capt. F. W. Dawson, the brilliant leader of the opposition, and as he inveighed against ring rule he aroused his supporters to such a fever of excitement that many of them were willing to fight for him, and, if need be, to die for him. His wonderful success as a public speaker is the more remarkable in view of the fact that he was thirty-six years old when he delivered his first public address at Bennettsville, and had he entered public life as early as do most men it is interesting to speculate upon the degree of perfection he might have attained. As it was, I do not believe he had an equal.

During TILLMAN's first term as governor he was unable to accomplish many of the reforms he advocated because of the lack of cooperation on the part of the legislature, a majority of whom were his supporters. In 1892 he asked for reelection and in the campaign that followed designated many of the legislators as mere "driftwood" and urged the people to elect a legislature that would support him.

For reelection he was opposed by one of the ablest men in the State, ex-Gov. John C. Sheppard. As in the previous campaign, factional feeling ran high, there being as clear a division between the Tillmanites and anti-Tillmanites as there is between Democrats and Republicans. The joint debates drew tremendous audiences and the feeling was so intense that men came armed, and only the coolness of the candidates prevented great loss of life.

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TILLMAN was reelected and very few anti-Tillmanites were elected to the legislature.

Of his service as governor it is fair to quote from his last message to the legislature what he regarded as the achievements of his administrations:

First. The erection and endowment of Clemson College.

Second. The overthrow of the Coosaw monopoly.

Third. The just and equitable assessment of taxes on railroads and other corporations and the victory in the courts compelling them to pay.

Fourth. The passage of the dispensary law and the destruction of the barrooms.

Fifth. Refunding of the State debt, which saved $78,000 a year in interest.

Sixth. The establishment of Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women.

Seventh. Election of the railroad commission by the people and allowing them to fix passenger and freight rates.

Eighth. The inauguration of the primary system of party nominations for all offices in the gift of the people.

The student will search in vain for a record of achievement by any South Carolina executive to compare with this record of constructive reforms. The unfriendly critic may criticize the establishment of the dispensary system, but as we now look back upon it and recall that its establishment meant the abolishment of the barroom we must concede that it was a long step toward the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors. In theory the plan was possibly the best solution of the problem, if liquors were to be sold under any system at all, but in practice it failed because of the inability to divorce the liquor business from the politics of a State, and the dispensary system soon became so corrupt that men who at heart were not in favor of prohibition were only too glad of an oppor-

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tunity to vote for prohibition in order to get rid of the dispensary system.

But no man can question the beneficial effect of the other constructive reforms above enumerated. TILLMAN by his eloquence aroused the people to a realization of their right to participate in the government of the State, and then through the primary system he furnished them the means to exercise that right. But he did not stop there. Having placed this power in the hands of the people, with the vision of a statesman he recognized that the greatest safeguard against the abuse of such power was the education of the people, and therefore, in addition to extending the common schools, he established during his administration the Clemson College for boys and the Winthrop College for girls. Much of the material and moral progress of South Carolina during the last 20 years can be traced to the beneficent influence of these two institutions that will ever stand as enduring monuments to the memory of Gov. TILLMAN.

During his first campaign for governor, TILLMAN, in closing his speech at Anderson, S. C., said:

> How many of you can look back and recall the names of South Carolina's governors? Take out the names of the seven since 1876, and with the exception of Hayne, McDuffie, and Hammond the names of the rest are written in sand. I do not want to be such a governor. My aspiration is higher and holier than that. I would like to be a governor to whom after ages will look back and say that he was a "Carolinian and a patriot."

When one considers the far-reaching beneficial effects of the achievements above enumerated, he must conclude that the ambition of TILLMAN was gratified; that after ages will look back upon his administrations, and looking back will say "He was a Carolinian and a patriot."

At the conclusion of his second term as governor TILLMAN opposed Senator M. C. Butler, who was seeking re-

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election to the United States Senate. His hold upon the people was as strong as ever, and he was easily elected over his opponent. From the day that TILLMAN entered the Senate he impressed himself upon the Nation just as he had upon the State of South Carolina. His first speech in that body was delivered to a crowded Senate and a crowded gallery and attracted the attention of the people of the entire country. In many respects it resembled his first public speech at Bennettsville, in 1885. As on that occasion, the conditions were ripe for the appearance of a TILLMAN. In the South and West there was great unrest and great dissatisfaction with the administration of Cleveland, and there had begun the agitation that culminated in the free-silver fight of 1896. TILLMAN took the fight of the farmers to the Senate. Announcing that he was not familiar with the proprieties of the Senate and that he intended to use plain, blunt words, he proceeded to denounce Cleveland as no President had ever been denounced in the Senate Chamber. He pictured the economic conditions of the agricultural sections of the country as a result of the low prices for farm products, and charged the existence in Wall Street of a group of men who controlled the credit of the country, and thus the destinies of the people. The speech attracted the attention of the country. The Nation seemed about to divide itself, as South Carolina had, into Tillmanite and anti-Tillmanite camps. Pitchfork Ben became the target of the editorial writers of the East, who declared that, by the language he used, he had disgraced the Senate. The West, however, hailed him as a fearless exponent of the evils they believed to exist.

In the Senate the effect of his speech was to cause his colleagues to conclude that, while he was rough and rude in his manner of speech, he was a man of extraordinary ability, whose acquaintance might with profit be

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cultivated. And as they learned to know him they came to know that he was absolutely honest and sincere, and within a very short time he had won the genuine affection of the leaders of both parties in the Senate. He loved to participate in the debates, and was always a dangerous opponent because of his fund of information, his quick mind, and his ready wit. The man who interrupted him while he was speaking always regretted it. The rules of the Senate were always a source of irritation to him. Shortly after his service began he started to speak on a live subject in which he was greatly interested, but which bore no direct relation to the pending bill. A Senator who desired to prevent his speaking arose and asked, "Mr. President, what is before the Senate?" "I am before the Senate," said TILLMAN, and while his interrogator was counting the casualties TILLMAN proceeded to finish his speech.

He knew little of parliamentary law and cared less. The truth is that TILLMAN had no regard for any kind of law. In his consideration of a proposition there was but one question, "Is it just?" If he became convinced that the object sought to be accomplished was a just and righteous one, he was impatient of any interference by any law, rule, or regulation.

With this indifference to law, and with the absolute power that he wielded while governor, the salvation of the people was, that TILLMAN acted always from impulse, and TILLMAN'S impulses were always good.

It is impossible here to refer to his many achievements in the Senate. He often referred to his fight in the Fifty-seventh Congress to compel recognition of South Carolina's claim against the Federal Government for money loaned by the State in the War of 1812. By this, $386,000 of the State's bonds held by the Federal Government as a debt against the State were canceled, and $89,137.36

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was returned to the State treasury in cash. That was a memorable fight, because it involved the two most picturesque figures in Congressional life—Farmer BEN TILLMAN and Uncle Joe Cannon. Mr. Cannon, as chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, refused to agree to the Senate amendment to an appropriation bill providing for the payment of the South Carolina claim. TILLMAN got the floor in the Senate and declared that, unless the conferees agreed to it, the other appropriation bills not yet passed would never pass, because he intended to talk from then until 12 o'clock the next day, March 4, when the Congress must adjourn. At 3 o'clock in the morning TILLMAN seemed able to make good his threat and rather than provoke an extra session Mr. Cannon yielded.

During the control of the Senate by the Republicans TILLMAN was placed in charge of the railroad-rate bill, and his successful handling of it won the commendation of his colleagues.

His exposure of the frauds of the armor-plate manufacturers finally led to the construction by the Government of its own armor-plate plant.

He established the Charleston Navy Yard and has consistently labored for its development.

As chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee he devoted his time and talents to the development of the Navy, and he lived to see his efforts rewarded by the demonstration of naval efficiency in the world war that has won the plaudits of the Nation.

As a legislator TILLMAN possessed what, unfortunately, many legislators do not possess—the courage of his convictions. Former Senator Bailey, who for years sat by the side of TILLMAN in the Senate, declares that TILLMAN was not only the truest man he ever knew, but one of the most courageous. Mr. Bailey states that when the Senate

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was about to vote on the question of expelling Senator Lorimer that TILLMAN sent for him, and when he went to his office he saw about 100 telegrams piled upon his desk. TILLMAN handed him about a dozen of them to read. The messages from South Carolinians declared the people of South Carolina were unanimous in the belief that Lorimer should be unseated and that if he failed to vote to expel him it would endanger his reelection to the Senate. TILLMAN told him that a man who was very close to him had come to Washington that morning to advise him that if he voted against expulsion he could not be reelected. Bailey said he knew how anxious TILLMAN was to be reelected because of his interest in pending problems and stated, "TILLMAN, that is a question you must submit to your own conscience and I have no right to advise you." "I expected you to say that," said TILLMAN. "I have submitted it to my conscience, and whether I be right or wrong, on the record before us I do not believe the man should be expelled, and whatever be the consequences I shall not vote to unseat him." He went to the Senate Chamber and voted his convictions. Many South Carolinians differed with him, but they had an abiding confidence in the honesty of BEN TILLMAN and respected his courage, and I doubt whether his vote in this case alienated a single friend.

TILLMAN's service in the Senate quickly made him a national figure and he was in great demand as a public speaker. It was Champ Clark, Speaker of this House, who first suggested to a chautauqua organization that TILLMAN should be induced to go upon the lecture platform. They succeeded in inducing him to go upon a lecture tour, and thirty days after he started the president of the organization advised Mr. Clark that TILLMAN was the best drawing card they had. While he had several lectures, his lecture upon the race problem attracted

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most attention. Through this lecture he undoubtedly presented to the people of the North more clearly than did any other man the view of the South upon this question. But while rendering his section a service, the fatigue of the travel, after an arduous session, weakened him physically and contributed to his physical breakdown. He was stricken with paralysis. From this stroke he recovered, and while he did not regain his former strength he continued his active service in the Senate until three days before his death on July third of this year. The last day he spent in his office I visited him and he read to me a letter he was about to send to Bennettsville, S. C., to be read at the senatorial campaign meeting scheduled for the following day. I think this was the last political act of his life, and so as the curtain went up on his political career at Bennettsville in 1885 with this letter the curtain fell upon his political career in July, 1918. The intervening years he had crowded to the utmost with service to the people of South Carolina, and I make bold to say that when the history of this period is written the historian of the future, freed from the prejudice engendered by political contests, will say not only that he was "a Carolinian and a patriot," but he will say that BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN was the greatest man that South Carolina has produced.

So much for his political life. I must speak of his private life, because great as was my admiration for him as governor and Senator greater still was my love for him as a man. In 1868 he married Miss Sallie A. Stark, of Elbert, Ga., and to this union were born six children, five of whom are living—Benjamin Ryan Tillman, jr.; Capt. Henry Cumming Tillman; Mrs. Lona Tillman Moore; Mrs. Sophia Tillman Hughes; and Mrs. Sallie Mae Tillman Shuler.

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I have never known a man more devoted to his family than was Senator TILLMAN. His devotion to his wife was the devotion of a boy to his sweetheart, and when forced by circumstances to be separated from her for even a day he was the unhappiest man on earth. On one occasion while accompanying him to his office he informed me that that day was the anniversary of his wedding, and I shall never forget with what sincerity he spoke of the happiness of his married life. When in Washington Mrs. Tillman spent every afternoon in his office, and to her Senator TILLMAN would submit his problems and invariably be guided by her wise counsel.

During recent years there was hardly a day during the sessions of Congress that I did not either visit his office or speak with him over the telephone. I came to love him, and in return he treated me as he would one of his sons. As I learned to know him I wondered how, even in the heat of political contests, his enemies misjudged him as they did. I saw his finer qualities, his love of truth, and his hatred of hypocrisy; his love of his fellow man and his sympathy for the downtrodden and the unfortunate; his chivalrous respect for women and his love of children. I learned, too, of his simple but firm faith in a Supreme Being, and to-day, as I recall how in daily life he practiced religion, I have an abiding confidence that a just and merciful God has granted to him that eternal rest to which a life of service justly entitles him.

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Address of Mr. Lever, of South Carolina

Mr. Speaker: For 40 years John C. Calhoun so thoroughly dominated politics in South Carolina that it was said, "When Calhoun took snuff the State sneezed." One of the characteristics of the volatile-minded and chivalrous people of South Carolina is hero worship. They idolized Calhoun for nearly half a century. They followed Gen. Hampton from 1876 to 1890, and they gave their indorsement to the late Senator Tillman for more than a quarter of a century.

An adequate review of the activities of Senator Tillman in South Carolina, from the day that he began his agitation for certain reforms in the educational and governmental systems of the State until, weary with the warfare, he yielded himself in defeat to the unconquered master of man, would require the services of an historian rather than that of the eulogist. Suffice it to say that the movement in the politics of the State which gave Senator Tillman an opportunity for the display of his fiery and rugged eloquence was the inevitable outgrowth of conditions which had long existed and which were the results of a situation peculiar to the State.

Senator Tillman first attracted attention to himself by a series of articles in the Charleston News and Courier, in which he advocated the establishment of an institution for industrial and technical education. These articles drew the fire of the able editor of that paper, the late Capt. F. W. Dawson. Those who followed these brilliant exchanges were quick to see that each gladiator found in the other a foeman worthy of his steel, and that in the hitherto comparatively unknown Tillman there lay genius for leadership which would have to be reckoned with.

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In 1885 he delivered, at a farmers' convention, a speech which caught the ears of a large and discontented element of the State and created a standing interest in the uncouth but earnest man from the hill country of the State. This element made a strong fight for control of the State government in 1888, but was unsuccessful. In 1890 they called a convention, known locally as the March convention, and nominated Capt. TILLMAN their candidate for governor. Those who opposed this movement, which was not strictly an agrarian movement, but was rather a movement representing a protest and certain demands, agreed upon Attorney General Joseph H. Earle and Gen. John B. Bratton, a brigadier general in the Confederate Army, both men of the highest character, courage, patriotism, and ability, to represent them in the contest.

The campaign began at Greenville in June of that year, and joint debates were held in every county in the State. Never perhaps in any State in the Union have there been witnessed such scenes of enthusiasm and bitterness, of crimination and recrimination, of sharp attack and sharper counterattack. However, it became very soon apparent that the people had discovered another idol, and that a tidal wave was sweeping the State from the mountain to the seaboard, and that the election of Capt. TILLMAN and his followers was inevitable.

Capt. TILLMAN was elected governor by an overwhelming majority, and immediately upon his induction into the office of governor he set about to put into law the reforms which he had so vigorously and with such masterful and powerful eloquence advocated upon the stump.

He was fought with intense bitterness at every point. The press of the State was almost unanimous against him and his program; practically every lawyer fought him, and what has since become known as big business was violently against him, but he had the support of that

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class of citizenship which is frequently referred to as the middle class, and he was reelected by an overwhelming vote in 1892. And with a legislature which had finally become friendly to him he succeeded during his incumbency as governor in the establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Fort Hill, the old home of Calhoun. In addition to this, the normal and industrial college for women, known as Winthrop College, was established, and which is now regarded as foremost in the Nation of institutions of its character. It was during his term as governor that the dispensary law, an important method for the control of the liquor traffic, was put into operation, a system which proved conclusively that liquor makes bad morals and bad government. It was during this time that the primary system for the nomination of candidates for public office from the United States Senator down to township commissioner was inaugurated. An attempt was made to equalize taxation and a spectacular contest between the chief executive and certain large corporations took place with the result in favor of the chief executive.

These and many other reforms have profoundly affected the course of affairs in the State during the last quarter of a century, and while yet a subject of controversy it is safe to say that the preponderance of judgment will warrant the statement that the four years of Senator TILLMAN as governor of the State witnessed more constructive and far-reaching legislation than had ever been given to the State before in a like period of time. All credit for this, however, can not be given in justice to Senator TILLMAN, for he was surrounded in his counsels by earnest and far-seeing men, and yet it would be equally unfair to deny that the larger share of credit belongs to his genius for leadership and constructive suggestion.

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The historian will likely say that the reform movement, or, as it is more frequently referred to, "The Tillman movement," was strong and helpful in the thoroughness with which it taught the people their power, and weak in its failure, as thoroughly, to teach them how to use that power. If the program of the reform movement at that time had included the logical sequence of all that it stood for, it should have provided for a more effective system of public education, because the possession of power without a thorough knowledge of a proper and correct use of it is most dangerous. Calmly reviewing the events of those stirring days, and the conditions that made these events possible, and the results that have come from them, the conclusion is inevitable that they were a necessary process in the evolution of popular government in the State and that genuine democracy was advanced by them.

The biographer is likely to say that Senator TILLMAN's most conspicuous service to the people was rendered as a State rather than as a national leader. It was in State affairs that his leadership was most conspicuous and aggressive, and he will live longest in the minds of the people for his work in State matters. His name is indissolvably linked with the two great industrial colleges for men and women. They, in themselves, are sufficient to place Senator TILLMAN on the very highest pedestal of statesmanship. These colleges are performing a service for the young men and the young women of the State whose value can not be estimated.

And the primary system, crude as it was, and is still, has nevertheless brought the people in more direct control of their government, and will always be looked upon as a monument of his work. It is an evidence of the genuine democracy which, in the last analysis, was the

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basis of his long and remarkable domination of an overwhelming majority of his fellow citizens.

In 1894 he became a candidate for the United States Senate against Gen. Matthew Calbraith Butler, who for 18 years had represented the State in the United States Senate with signal ability and vitality. Again the State was shaken from the mountains to the seaboard with the fury of the contest, but the result was never in doubt and Senator TILLMAN was elected by a tremendous majority.

A study of the contest will show the force and power of Senator TILLMAN in middle life. No one who witnessed them can ever forget his almost uncanny recognition of a psychological moment when addressing a popular audience. As a stump speaker he was absolutely irresistible and without an equal. His vocabulary was thoroughly Anglo-Saxon, pure and pointed, the right word always in the right place. He was a student of the classics and learned deeply from them. His style was volcanically explosive, and hence almost irresistible, while his mannerisms were unique and original. His gesticulation was awkward but effective. His facial expression was a powerful asset to him as a speaker, and his voice, a high tenor, had great carrying power and was the ideal outdoor speaking voice.

It is not recorded that he ever quailed or hesitated before a dangerous situation, or that he was ever hit when he could not strike back at least a little harder. Others have imitated him and his methods with some degree of success, but his place as a campaigner before popular audiences will long remain all his own.

It had been the wish of many of his friends that in his own way he might preserve for posterity his recollection and impression of the remarkable scenes of which he was chief actor, and it is still the hope of his friends that a

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competent and impartial biographer may rescue from forgetfulness these scenes.

It was not long after Senator TILLMAN took his seat as a Senator that he attracted national attention by a bitter and spectacular attack upon the Cleveland administration. These were the days when the agitation for free silver began to take possession of the imagination of the South and the West, which were then suffering from stagnation in business and from extremely low prices for farm products. His declaration, "Sixteen to one or bust," became a classic in the campaign of 1896, when Gold v. Silver fought their final contest for supremacy in this country. From the day of this speech until his last appearance upon the floor of the Senate he was a marked man. As he grew in experience and in age, and when responsibility began to rest more and more heavily upon him, he gradually, as is usual in all cases, began to grow more and more conservative and more and more inclined to tolerate the opinions of others. His contact with the brainiest men of the Nation was a great training for him, and his breadth of vision increased with his more comprehensive understanding of the problems and of the variety and conflicting interests of a great Republic.

Senators of the type of Chandler, of New Hampshire; the scholarly Senator Hoar and his equally able colleague, Senator Lodge; the brilliant Senator Spooner; the gentlemanly and dignified Senator Hale soon discovered in the new Senator from South Carolina, whose large brown eye blazed with the love of combat, an intellect, a courage, and wisdom, and a knowledge worthy of the best traditions of the greatest legislative body in the world. He was not long in establishing his right of leadership in this body of great men, and this he held without dispute until the fatal disease which was his undoing laid its hands upon him. Four times he was elected to the Sen-

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ate by the almost unanimous vote of his people, and even his bitterest enemies must and do concede that his attitude as a Senator, in almost every instance, was representative of the majority thought of his State. He had a most highly developed capacity for divining public opinion, but likewise had a capacity in an equal degree toward making public opinion. He was more generally a leader of thought than a follower of it. His mind was of the imperious kind; he dominated everything about him. He loved power, but he did not abuse it.

No man in the history of the State, save Calhoun alone, so completely and for so long a time held his sway over its people, and this was not due to his personal popularity, for, while he had warm and loyal friends, he was not of the type whose success was due to a personal following. He won his way by sheer force of intellect and courage and the belief of his followers in his patriotism and honesty. They trusted him without stint.

The home life of Senator TILLMAN was beautiful. His passionate love for flowers, his deep and abiding devotion to his family are well known. His roughness of manner and speech were more apparent than real. Under the rough exterior there was a kindly heart. Children loved him, and the intuition of children is unerring in its accuracy.

This hastily prepared glimpse of the character and service of this great man is all too brief, but eulogy can not do him justice. That must be left to the biographer. May he be fair and competent, that the generations to come may be able to form a correct estimate of the place in history which Senator TILLMAN shall fill.

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ADJOURNMENT.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina). In accordance with the provisions of the resolution heretofore adopted the House will now stand adjourned.

Accordingly, at 2 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m., the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, December 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *December 16, 1918.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate expresses its profound sorrow in the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a mark of further respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session } SENATE { DOCUMENT No. 454

JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER

(Late a Senator from New Hampshire)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE
SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
January 19, 1919

Proceedings in the House
January 19, 1919

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1919

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HON. JACOB H. GALLINGER

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DEATH OF HON. JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

MONDAY, *August 19, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as we come before Thee at the beginning of this session our hearts are saddened because of the going away of one of the lofty men of our national life—a man who has lived among us with unsullied character; who has borne himself with the dignity of a Senator, with the honor of a man, with the grace of a Christian; whose counsel was wise; whose chaste spirit has refined the spirit of the Nation. We bless Thee for his life and character and ministry among us.

We pray that we may feel an added sense of responsibility as these men who have been tried through the years are taken from us, and that we may, by the grace of God, measure up to the ever-increasing responsibilities of this high office.

Hear us in our prayer; direct us to-day in the affairs that may confront us; help us to solve our national problems in the fear of God; and bring us to ultimate victory and success. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it is my painful duty this morning to announce the death of our late colleague, JACOB H. GALLINGER, the senior Senator from the State of New Hampshire. He passed away from life on the 17th

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of this month in a sanitarium at Franklin, N. H., in the eighty-second year of his age, after a service of 27 years in this body.

Mr. GALLINGER's death is especially sad and painful to me from the fact that I have been associated with him so long in the public service. We were associates in the House of Representatives in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and I have been associated with him in this body since the 4th of March, 1895. During a large share of that time we were both members of one of the most important committees of the Senate, and I learned to know the Senator intimately and well. He was one of the most industrious and energetic Members of this body, always vigilant and active in the public interest; and he set an example to all of us who served with him, and to those who are coming after us, as one of the most efficient public servants that this country has ever had.

Mr. President, while the late Senator passed away in the fullness of his years, his death is a great loss not only to his State but to our common country and to this body. We shall miss him. He was always active, always vigilant, always attentive to his public duties.

On some future occasion this body no doubt will take proceedings to commemorate in a more full and complete manner his life and his services. On this occasion I shall not take up the time of the Senate further than to offer the resolutions which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 291) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER, for 27 years a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

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Resolved, That a committee of 18 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. GALLINGER, to be held in the city of Concord, N. H.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Under the second resolution the President pro tempore appointed Mr. Lodge, Mr. Martin, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Dillingham, Mr. Simmons, Mr. Overman, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Borah, Mr. Bankhead, Mr. Smith of Maryland, Mr. Cummins, Mr. Poindexter, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Weeks, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Curtis, and Mr. New as the committee on the part of the Senate.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, August 22, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

THURSDAY, *August 22, 1918.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the death of Hon. JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

WEDNESDAY, *December 18, 1918.*

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate shall convene on Sunday, January 19, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of the late Senator from New Hampshire, Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection? There is none, and it is so ordered.

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SUNDAY, *January 19, 1919.*

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions and move their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 417) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate expresses its profound sorrow in the death of the Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Hollis, of New Hampshire

Mr. President: My late distinguished colleague, the Hon. Jacob Harold Gallinger, was the leader of his party in the Senate and the veteran of this body by two full years in point of continuous service. He entered the Senate March 4, 1891, serving without a break to the day of his death, August 17, 1918, a period of 27 years.

Senator Gallinger began his political career in the New Hampshire Legislature in 1872, serving there for several terms, and later three terms in the State senate, where he was twice president. He was a Member of the National Congress for two terms before he entered the United States Senate. For many years he was chairman of the Republican State committee in New Hampshire.

The duties of these various offices he discharged with industry, intelligence, and dignity. He leaned toward the formal in his conduct of public business, but he was delightfully informal, genial, and kindly in his own home and among his friends. He was ever ready to perform favors for friend or foe. He was of an optimistic temperament, wholesome, sane, uniformly cheerful and courteous. It is delightful to one who has been his persistent political adversary from his home ward to the forum of the Senate to be able to accord to him, without reservation, so much of praise.

His character and his attitude toward public questions were conventional and consistent. One who had followed his course for a few years could foretell with certainty how he would vote on any matter of importance. He was sure not to be "the first by whom the new is tried," and he was always among "the last to lay the old aside."

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Senator GALLINGER was a natural conservative. Hard work and persistent effort had lifted him from lowly circumstances to a position of power and influence among his fellows. The game of life was played in his generation according to his tastes and inclinations. He believed that any man of average intelligence could get on in the world if he would be sober, industrious, and thrifty. He did not believe that the country or the Government owed any man more than this opportunity.

I think Senator GALLINGER was frankly puzzled at the era of change and reform in which he spent his declining years. I used to see him in the Senate gazing at some colleague whom he believed to be honest, wondering how any intelligent man could utter such foolishness.

More than once he has said to me in substance: "I suppose you young chaps consider me very old-fashioned. Perhaps I am. But things look to me now as they have all my life. I believe I am right, and I shall stick it out if I have to stand alone."

His long and elevated allegiance to prohibition and woman suffrage testify to his courage and independence. I sincerely believe that the inevitable adoption of Federal amendments on these subjects was hastened several years by his advocacy and support. In these two respects he departed from conventionalism and conservatism and became progressive and radical. I think he delighted in thus straying occasionally from the beaten conservative path and plucking a few nosegays from Bohemian fields. Most of his political associates were opposed to prohibition, and nearly all of them abhorred woman suffrage, particularly in the early days. But he never faltered.

The name of my late colleague has been familiar to me from boyhood. All my life he has been a leading citizen of my native city. I remember hearing my father speak of him in 1876, when I was only 7, and my father and Dr.

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GALLINGER, as he was then known, were members of the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention. His children were my playmates and schoolmates, and his daughter sat beside me during our first year in the Concord High School.

Dr. GALLINGER enjoyed a good practice as a physician in the best circles of Concord before he entered Congress, in the days when a physician was not a specialist, but an all-round general practitioner, family adviser, and friend. My townsmen referred to him to the last as "Doctor" GALLINGER, feeling in some way that that appellation was less formal than that of "Senator."

He was always prominent in advancing the cause of our city and our State. In the old days there were perennial contests in the State legislature and before the courts between the Concord Railroad and the Boston & Maine Railroad, which was then called a "foreigner." Dr. GALLINGER and my father always worked together for the interests of the Concord road against the foreign invader. And it was characteristic of Senator GALLINGER that he continued those early friendships and affiliations throughout his life. He had a great gift in the way of staunchness and loyalty to his friends.

Senator GALLINGER was a tireless worker, and had little patience with those who were lazy or inattentive. For 20 years I tended his skill in political campaigns, and I never knew it to fail. No detail was overlooked. He kept track of every absent voter, and found time to take a friendly interest in promising young men of both parties just approaching their majority. The Democratic Party won no important victories in New Hampshire until he retired as chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1908.

My relations with my colleague were always cordial in private life. In the Senate we usually voted against each other, but we never clashed in debate after the tariff con-

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test of 1913. We found many opportunities to reciprocate favors, and we never hesitated to confer on matters in which our constituents were interested.

I can testify with authority to the universal esteem in which my late colleague was held by Senators on this side of the Chamber. I leave it to those who were associated with him long years in the Senate to speak of his services here. I have tried merely to outline his many fine qualities as observed by a political antagonist of a younger generation who knew him as a good neighbor, a kind parent, a devoted husband, and an exemplary citizen.

New Hampshire mourns his loss.

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Address of Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: "The man who was one of us has put on the garment of Eternity and become radiant and triumphant; the present is all at once the past; Hope is suddenly cut away and only the backward vistas of Memory remain, shone over by a light that proceeds not from this earthly sun."

"This is a transition out of visible Time into invisible Eternity."

And the questions which arise as we mourn for the friend who has gone and strive to do him honor are two: What did he do in the life that was granted him among the generation and in the times where his lot was cast? and the greater question, How did he live his life? What a man was is ever more important than what he did. Without misgiving we can ask and answer both questions in the case of Senator Gallinger. A long life closing with all that should accompany old age, "honor, love, obedience, troops of friends." A life beginning with the earnest pursuit and crowding activities of a noble profession and then passing to many years of devoted public service lasting longer than the lifetime of a generation of men.

For more than 27 years he has served his State and his country in the Senate of the United States. A great trust this and finely executed. No more faithful public servant ever sat in the great body of which he was so long an honored Member. His diligence and industry never flagged. He passed daily from the committee room, where most of the hard work—never seen or comprehended fully by the public—is done, to the floor of the Senate to continue his labors there. He was preeminently

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a good legislator. No measure that interested him, and very few escaped his watchful eye, went through without some improving touch from his skillful hand whenever improvement was needed. He became a very able parliamentarian, although not bred to the law, and was always master of the business of the Senate. He was a strong and effective debater, and upon the subjects which he made peculiarly his own when he spoke at length it was always with force, with thorough knowledge, and with clear coordination of all parts of his subject and all phases of the argument. His career was one of real benefit and wide-reaching usefulness to his fellow men and of ever-growing distinction until he became and securely held a high eminence as one of the best known and most trusted statesmen of the Republic. The words "ever growing" can be accurately used in regard to Senator GALLINGER, for his mental and bodily strength until two years ago was never abated. He had reached his eightieth year before he had the severe illness which gave the first indication of his advanced age. Even then, after his recovery, when he returned to his work, he labored as before and his wise counsel and strong but kindly influence were as potent as ever. Never for a moment did he lag superfluous upon the stage or through disease or weakness fail in any duty.

He had the respect, the confidence, and the affection of his fellow Senators on both sides of the Chamber to a degree rarely equaled. This was not owing to any arts practiced for popularity; still less to being all things to all men, which was impossible to him. It was wholly due to his character, to the quality of the man. In other words, to what he was, the second and the greater touchstone, and this proved him to be current gold indeed. He was a man of strong character and rigid honesty alike in thought, in word, and in action. He had strong likes and dislikes,

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deep-rooted convictions, and entire courage, and these are the qualities which in the long run always command respect; and if they are allied as they were in him with great kindness, a most genuine modesty, keen sympathy, and a real tender-heartedness for all who sorrow or are heavy laden, affection is sure to follow close upon respect. He was a good man, highest praise of all, never prim or prudish or intolerant, incapable of hypocrisy, and yet always a good man without casuistry or debate and without spot or blemish upon which envy, hatred, or malice could lay a pain-giving touch. He had many a hard-fought contest and he never asked quarter or shrank from striking a hard blow for the truth as he saw it, but about himself he never had anything to explain. His life was an open book and he guarded no secrets.

Many heavy sorrows came to him, and he felt them deeply, but he met them bravely, and went on with his public work unrelaxing and undaunted.

So death came to him with the harness on his back, as he would have wished—came to him when he was filled with overpowering, yearning anxiety for his beloved country in the hour of extreme stress and trial. Those who knew him, those who were with him in all his daily work, will miss him sadly. To those nearest and dearest to him his death is an irreparable loss. But for him all is well. In the fullness of his years, loved and honored by his friends and countrymen, with but little suffering he has come to the inevitable end. With all truth and with devout and tender feeling we may repeat the beautiful words:

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

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Address of Mr. Warren, of Wyoming

Mr. President: We have assembled to-day to pay tribute to the memory of our late and much-beloved colleague, Jacob Harold Gallinger, who was one of the many great men the State of New Hampshire has produced, and one of the most useful statesmen this body has known.

Other Senators, who feel his loss no more keenly than I do, will doubtless recount better than I can the many interesting facts that concerned his long career of honorable public service. Therefore, I shall speak but briefly regarding those facts.

Jacob H. Gallinger was born on a Canadian farm and was one of a large family of children. In his youth he learned the printer's trade and later studied medicine, and was graduated in that profession, which he followed until he entered Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1885. He served in the House throughout two Congresses, the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth, declined renomination for election to the Fifty-first Congress, and came to the Senate in the Fifty-second Congress, his term commencing March 4, 1891.

My own service in the United States Senate commenced three months prior to that time, so I was one of those permitted to welcome him when he came. But, alas, it has been more than a decade since the last one of all the others of the then sitting Members of this body passed out of service here. Senator Gallinger served continuously from his first entrance into the Senate until his death, while my fate was to retire for one Congress. So the Senator had had, in fact, a considerably longer service at the time of his death than any of the remaining Members.

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It was the privilege of several of us here to have known Senator GALLINGER during a large part of his 33 years' service in Congress, and I am certain that not one of his former colleagues who have outlived him, whether his acquaintanceship was for a longer or shorter period, will gainsay my statement that Senator GALLINGER was one of the most lovable, faithful, and courteous men we have had with us in this close association of the Senate Chamber, which gives men opportunity to know each other most intimately and to observe at close range each other's human weaknesses as well as strength.

In that connection I am reminded of the words of the essayist, Emerson, who said that "Other men are lenses through which we read our own minds." That idea becomes real to us as we gather here each day and look into the lenses for the thoughts of our fellow Senators and the reflections of our own thoughts. And most of us will recall the many times we have consulted with our friend who has left us, as we have endeavored to inform ourselves and to adjust our own minds.

I have never known Senator GALLINGER to shirk a duty or responsibility. On the contrary, I have known him to be present here and engage in burdensome tasks when his strength was not equal to the demands made upon it.

We were fellow members of several committees during our many years of service together; but our longest and closest association was as co-members of the Committee on Appropriations, covering a period of 15 years. There it was especially noticeable that the successive chairmen and members alike had the greatest respect for Senator GALLINGER's sound judgment and keen common sense regarding matters of legislation—partially inherent and partially acquired by long experience and strict attention to his public duties. He could always be relied upon as a sort of anchor when either parsimony or ex-

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travagance threatened to upset things somewhat for the time being.

His long service as member, and for many years as chairman, of the Committee on the District of Columbia enabled him to contribute to the Appropriations Committee assistance of inestimable value in connection with the ofttimes difficult matters that surround District appropriations. Incidentally, his fairness in dealing with District matters, his willingness to give all factions respectful hearing in cases of dispute, endeared him to the hearts of all District residents who are interested in the legislative and administrative affairs of this city.

While attending strictly to his duties as a legislator, our good friend who has gone beyond did not lose interest in his earlier profession of medicine and surgery. His older friends habitually addressed him as "Doctor GALLINGER"; hospitals were aided by him and named for him; and my belief is that he took great pride in the title and profession.

For many years I have known in what high esteem Senator GALLINGER has been held by all those in the humbler walks of life who have had occasion to consult him about their business and personal affairs. Their verdict has been universal regarding his never-failing kindliness and generosity.

Indeed, we shall never know a kindlier man and friend—and when we speak of him as a consistent, loyal friend, which he was, we give him the highest title we can possibly bestow.

Fast as the rolling seasons bring
  The hour of fate to those we love,
Each pearl that leaves the broken string
  Is set in Friendship's crown above.
As narrower grows the earthly chain,
  The circle widens in the sky;
These are our treasures that remain,
  But those are stars that beam on high.

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Address of Mr. Smith, of Georgia

Mr. President: I wish to speak of Senator Gallinger just as I saw him and knew him and miss him in this Chamber. I have known and closely observed him here for seven years. At first, Senator Gallinger was the leader of his party in the majority, and for the last six years he was still the leader of his party while it was in the minority. During the entire time he was earnest, watchful, and vigilant. No Senator was more constant in attendance or readier to handle any question which came before the Senate. He was master of the Senate rules of procedure and a stickler for their observance. While an intense believer in his party, he was broadly patriotic, and no one could fairly watch his course without knowing that his great purpose was to serve his country.

He spoke without display, but with perfect clearness and persuasive logic, and he rarely failed to win the Senate for the side he advocated. His line of thought always showed a purpose to build up and not to pull down. He preferred to praise, not to criticize. He believed in his country; he had confidence in our institutions; he loved his fellow countrymen; he loved to see the best side of everything and everybody. He was an optimist, full of hope and confidence, though anxiously thoughtful of the future. He was kind and gentle and courteous. It was a pleasure to be with him.

Senator Gallinger was among the foremost of his associates in his work and in their esteem. We cherish his memory. There is much in his record that we may emulate, and not the least his devotion to the Senate and to its constitutional responsibilities, for the disregard or neglect of which he deeply grieved.

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Address of Mr. Nelson, of Minnesota

Mr. President: I first became acquainted with Senator Gallinger in 1885, and was associated with him in the House of Representatives in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, of which we were both Members. Our acquaintance ripened into a close friendship, which continued to the day of his death. Neither of us could at that time foresee what the future had in store for us or that we would be associates in the United States Senate for nearly 24 years.

On this occasion I can only undertake to give a brief outline of his noble career and great energy and activity in the public service. He was born on Canadian soil and of German ancestry on the father's side, but in his later childhood or early youth he came to the United States to remain with us the rest of his days. He was not born in the lap of luxury, and his early days were those of struggle, work, and hardship. He, however, managed to acquire a good academic education, meanwhile working for a short time at the trade of a printer.

Shortly afer completing his career at the academy he took up the study of medicine and surgery at the Cincinnati Medical Institute, from which he graduated in his twenty-second year. Shortly after this he settled at Concord, N. H., which became his permanent home, and entered upon the practice of medicine and surgery, in which he was very successful.

A broader and more enchanting field of activity and usefulness, however, soon attracted his attention and aspirations. By his own inclination, and at the instance of his fellow citizens, he entered the political arena and

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was elected to the State legislature in 1871. He served for several years in both the house and the senate, and during a part of the time was presiding officer of the senate.

After the expiration of his service in the State senate he was in 1884 elected a Member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and reelected in 1886. In 1888 he declined reelection. He entered the House as an experienced and well-equipped legislator and soon took an active part and became prominent in the proceedings of that body. He was a good debater and an active and energetic committee member, and kept good track of the diversified field of legislation. Had he remained longer a Member of the House, he would undoubtedly have soon taken a front rank and become one of the leaders of that body—a leadership that does not come through favor, but through real worth, ability, and fitness.

On March 4, 1891, he entered the Senate as an experienced and trained legislator, well versed in public affairs; and he continued as a Member of this body until the day of his death, August 17, 1918, when he passed away peacefully near his home in the State he had so long faithfully served, in the eighty-second year of his age, after a service of more than 27 years in the Senate.

Those who are familiar with the work of the Senate know that Senators, so far as their activity as legislators is concerned, may well be grouped into three classes, namely: those who seldom attend committee meetings and give little attention to the routine work of the Senate, but who participate in the debates and frequently, on occasion, deliver eloquent and instructive speeches on public questions; then there is another class, who are faithful attendants of the meetings of the committees of which they are members and do much hard and quiet work in formulating legislative measures, but who take little or

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no part in the debates and seldom deliver any set speeches; and there is also a third class, who are active and energetic in committee work, give constant attention to the proceedings in the Senate, and actively participate in the debates, rather for elucidation and instruction than for display of mere eloquence.

Senator GALLINGER belonged to this third class. He was a most active, energetic, and industrious committee member, constant in attendance and persistent in work. I, as an associate of his for many years on one of the important committees of the Senate, bear witness at first-hand to this fact. He was not only faithful in his committee work, but he was also a faithful attendant of the sessions of the Senate and kept a close watch of, and was in constant touch with, all important measures on the calendar.

But, beside all this, he was a most excellent, ready, keen, and instructive debater, who always elucidated and made clear the subject to which he addressed himself. His aim was to help—to shed light rather than darkness. He was always earnest and sincere, and this served to add force to his remarks. He was decided and clear and never equivocating or misleading. The public welfare as he saw it—and as a rule he always saw it aright—was his constant aim and lodestar. It was the compass that guided him through his manifold and diversified activities.

He was an ardent protectionist, who never faltered or equivocated. To him it seemed one of the chief mainsprings of our industrial life; and he was as ready to aid the farmer, the lumberman, and the miner of the great West as the manufacturer of New England. His shield of protection was country wide, and wherever needed he stood ready to invoke it.

He labored ardently and long, in season and out of season, to rehabilitate, build up, and enlarge our weak

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and feeble merchant marine, and had his plan been adopted by Congress when proposed our country would at the outbreak of the great war at least have had some shipping which it could call its own and would not have been entirely at the mercy of other countries. We might have had some swift ocean carriers of our own to carry our troops and supplies to Europe. The subsidies he proposed, which were then so vigorously opposed, seem picayunish and Lilliputian when compared with what has so lavishly been expended under the direction of the Shipping Board during the last two years. Millions have now been expended in lieu of the dollars his plan involved, and we should have had a superior class of ships, too, under his plan.

He took a deep active interest in developing, enlarging, and beautifying the city of Washington. It was his ambition that the Capital of our Nation should rank and hold its place among the finest and best of all the world.

His activity, however, was not confined to the specific subjects to which I have referred, though these engrossed much of his time. He paid strict attention to the general course of legislation. All important matters of legislation had his watchful care and attention, and he was never at a loss in debating and discussing such measures. Some Senators are content to devote most of their attention to a single subject of importance, but he, while he had his specialties, was not anchored to these exclusively. He took in and devoted his attention to the entire range of pending measures. He was always on the lookout for what he conceived to be mischievous and dangerous measures, and for these he had no mercy and never hesitated to impale them or to point out their dangerous character.

Like many of us, he had at times his trials to contend with. His early life was a time of struggle and trial, but his trials seemed only to increase his zest for work and

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never ruffled the equanimity of his temper. He was a royal friend and a genial companion—kind, considerate, and helpful to his associates.

After more than 45 years in the public service, he died comparatively a poor man, but with an untarnishable record and with the love of the people he had so long served. His epitaph will not be like that of some of our modern millionaires, whose record in brief is this:

> He was born poor, but by hard work and rigid economy he accumulated several millions. A small portion of this he gave to charity; the balance all went to his family.

A barren life such as this—barren in all but the devotion to Mammon—was not the life of Senator GALLINGER, and fortunately it is not the life, as a rule, of our public men. New Hampshire has had many great Senators in this body, but I doubt whether she has had a more useful one than Senator GALLINGER.

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Address of Mr. Smoot, of Utah

Mr. President: In the death of the late Senator Jacob H. Gallinger New Hampshire lost her foremost and best beloved citizen and the country one of its safest and most esteemed statesmen. He was honest and brave, learned and sagacious, true and patriotic, and his death leaves a vacancy in the Senate which can hardly be filled. He will be missed more and more as the years go by. He was a perfect gentleman; a man of constructive ability, of the strictest integrity and unquestioned honor. He was a lover of justice, a fair opponent. He was courteous always in his treatment of those who differed with him. So great has been the implicit confidence of the people of New Hampshire in his wisdom and judgment, so profound was their admiration for his statesmanship, so loyal for his blameless character, that they elected him to represent them in the House of Representatives for two terms and elected him as their Senator for a continuous service of 30 years.

Senator Gallinger was a man of wonderful perspective, and his mental horizon was not limited by local conditions or partisan convictions. He took a deep interest in everything that benefited the whole country, and he watched with pride and satisfaction its progress, its achievements, its successes, its industrial and educational advancement. He believed in law and order, and was ever the defender and often the author of legislation the object of which was to make the people of this country happy, contented, and prosperous.

When Senator Gallinger left the Senate for his home in New Hampshire a short time before the close of the last session of Congress I felt that he never would return.

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He was a sick man at the time, and he knew it; but his indomitable will would not allow him to think so, or that his death was near. He expressed the opinion to me that a short rest on his farm in New Hampshire would be the means of his securing the needed rest. The announcement of his death was no surprise to me. He was my friend, and my association with him constitutes one of the most pleasant features of my public life. He enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the Members of the Senate irrespective of political affiliation. In debate he was always frank, cordial, and courteous. He was simple and direct in thought and action. He was truthful and entirely free from that moral cowardice which breeds deception. Some Senators realize, but few outside the Senate fully appreciate, how great a service he rendered the Nation.

Senator GALLINGER was always a sterling defender of any cause which he espoused, never thinking whether its advocacy would inure to his personal advantage or not. He was modest and unassuming, as every Senator will testify. He sought in his legislative career to check illegal and extravagant expenditures, and to reduce taxation, to encourage manufacture, and the building of an American merchant marine.

I know there have come to our departed friend times of disappointment, times of discouragement, and times when he would have given the richest things he possessed to have received the assurance of the appreciation of his fellow men that has been expressed so freely here to-day. There may be erected to his memory monuments of marble. In this way his name may be kept fresh in the memory of the few. But the statements made to-day tell, as cold stones can never tell, of the things for which he was honored, respected, and loved, and which made him great in the estimation of all who knew him. The reward

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of one's fellow men is a reward that must be earned, and happy, indeed, is he who gains it; and few there are who gain it in the degree and the measure so universal and with so many people as did the late Senator GALLINGER.

In halls of State he stood for many years
Like fabled Knight his visage all aglow,
Receiving, giving, sternly, blow for blow,
Champion for right! But from Eternity's far shore
Thy spirit will return to join the strife no more.
Rest, citizen, statesman, rest, thy troubled life is o'er.

Mr. President, if we could but force our vision through the thin veil that separates this life from the greater life beyond we would not look upon death with that degree of dread which is so common to mankind. To me death is but the passing from our present existence to a more perfect and active one. What a fortunate thing it would be if our lives were such that with the cable of hope intertwined with faith and charity, we could, with properly attuned ears, receive from the Master now and then the message we are all striving for, "All is well."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Smith], who is next on the list of speakers, is confined to his room by illness.

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Mr. PRESIDENT: Other Senators have given or will give the salient facts relating to the long and distinguished career of Senator GALLINGER, and I shall not duplicate that general statement; but I can not refrain from taking a brief part in the services on this occasion.

Senator GALLINGER represented my native State in Congress for more than twice as many years as any other man in the history of New Hampshire. That long service, and the fact that our views very largely coincided on public questions, brought me into close relationship with him and gave me an insight into his practices and policies perhaps as great as that of other Senators who have served with him for more years.

Senator GALLINGER was a strong party man—a political course which, in my judgment, is the soundest from every standpoint of good government. He recognized that this Government is best conducted only when there are two strong and nearly evenly divided political parties, and that any variation from that policy tends toward personal or individual government. Personal or individual government lessens stability and destroys that responsibility which can only exist with organization. It is true that men who believed as he did and as I do in such fundamental matters very frequently find themselves in the position of not approving in all details what their own party for the moment may advocate; and yet they realize, as he did with great broadness and saneness, the desirability of concerted and consistent political action.

Senator GALLINGER was a most industrious man up to the day of his final sickness. Very few men in the Senate gave more detailed attention to the duties of their work

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than he. The records of Congress will show that up to July 1, 1918, there were few important questions before the Senate which he did not debate with intelligence, and his thorough knowledge of the questions of the day always commanded the respect and admiration of his colleagues. He had an expert knowledge of many of the great public questions affecting the welfare of our Nation equaled by but few legislators in recent years. No man had a clearer conception of a protective tariff or was of firmer belief in that doctrine than Senator GALLINGER. He was one of its most earnest and effective advocates for many years, and his faith in the value of that policy never weakened.

No man in Congress had a more intimate knowledge of the requirements of our country in relation to a merchant marine. He discussed that question many times, covering the entire ground with such thoroughness that it is difficult to add to the arguments he made in favor of a merchant-marine subsidy.

His knowledge of naval affairs and his hearty advocacy of an effective navy was well known, and Senator GALLINGER was a potent influence in bringing that arm of our military service to the high standard of efficiency which enabled it to make possible its great record in the recent war with Germany.

These are but a few examples of his broad knowledge and thorough equipment as a Senator. Most men who have passed the threescore-and-ten mark have lessened their activities, either for physical or other reasons. There was no failure on the part of Senator GALLINGER to continue his active interest and participation in public affairs long after that period. Indeed, his mental and physical faculties were available until the end.

His was a most friendly, wholesome, and cordial character, helpful to others, genial in his personal relationships, and particularly generous in his attitude toward

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his fellow men. I can bear witness to these admirable qualities, for from the day I came into the Senate he took an interest in me which was both fatherly and brotherly and which aided me materially in my efforts to become a relatively useful Member of this body.

No State in the Union has been represented in Congress with greater devotion than was New Hampshire by Senator GALLINGER during his long service. He was jealous of everything pertaining to the welfare of his State; and although his service in Congress made him well known to everyone in New Hampshire I do not believe the people he served so faithfully and well can quite appreciate the keen personal interest he took in them and their affairs.

It is frequently said in a somewhat perfunctory way that this man or that man can not be well spared from the public service. Those of us who have served in Washington for many years know that the average man—in fact, substantially all men— although they may have been useful and even brilliant legislators, drop out without so much as causing a ripple on the surface of congressional life. That is not true, however, of Senator GALLINGER. He was the admired and trusted leader of his party, and those younger in service and younger in years had long trusted that leadership and depended on his sound advice and calm judgment.

I can not express how strongly I regret his passing, not only from my own personal, but the public standpoint. If ever a man earned the reward "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," Senator GALLINGER did; and I am sure that sentence expresses the sentiments of his associates in the Senate, all those who knew him and those represented by him.

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Address of Mr. Thomas, of Colorado

Mr. President: For some time before I became a Member of the Senate my sentiment toward Senator Gallinger was distinctly antagonistic. I had met him casually some 19 years ago. The basis for the feeling which I entertained was the occasional appearance of public criticisms reflecting upon his public service, the principles upon which he acted, and the views he entertained upon prime matters of public concern. To me they were the antithesis of everything which I professed and which seemed essential to the ordered and healthy progress of the Nation. In this mental attitude I entered the Senate Chamber.

Senator Gallinger was the Presiding Officer of the Senate at that time. He administered the oath of office to me, and on that afternoon he called upon me in the offices which had been assigned to me in the building across the way. He spent some half or three-quarters of an hour in exchange of personal reminiscences and courtesies, during the visit giving me much valuable information regarding the details of a Senator's life, for which I felt and expressed my sense of appreciation. Upon parting he expressed his gratification that I had become one of his colleagues and desired me to call upon him at any time he could be of service. To say that my feeling of mistrust was dissipated by this kindly interest in my behalf is but to feebly express the entire change of sentiment which his kindly and genial companionship impelled.

I took occasion shortly afterwards to express to him my regret that I had formed a hasty judgment of his character and standing, upon secondary evidence which my experience at the bar should have warned me against, and to express the hope that our relations as long as we were

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here together should be as kindly and as cordial as they had begun; and they were, Mr. President, from that hour to the hour of his death, those of a close, congenial, and affectionate friendship.

Senator GALLINGER stood for many things which I did not approve, and I stood for many things which he could not approve; and it is the close and intimate contact with men like Senator GALLINGER that induces, or should induce, men to modify their judgments of each other and also their convictions of the soundness of their own views; for, after all, however sincere our sentiments and convictions, it is human to err, and imperfection is characteristic of all judgments.

Senator GALLINGER was a conservative statesman. He had that rarest of virtues in these days—a moral courage which made it impossible for him to be neutral upon any position and impelled him to inform the world of his sentiments upon every question confronting him in his capacity as a United States Senator; yet, mingled with his conservatism were elements of a progressive nature that were in decided contrast to his general views. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Hollis], his former colleague, has directed attention to his championship of the two great liberal issues of prohibition and woman suffrage. He was as earnest and constant in his devotion to these as in his advocacy of or opposition to every proposition which his judgment commended or condemned. It is not an unusual contrast, Mr. President, but in a man of such sterling integrity of conviction it does afford some basis for speculation that views which seem so diametrically opposed to each other should have found in him a common champion.

Senator GALLINGER combined with his sturdiness of conviction, his practice of participating in every important discussion as an ardent and vigorous contestant, all the

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sterling qualities of a true and perfect gentleman. We have had, during the six years that I have been a Member of the Senate, a number of sharply controverted issues and discussions, generating much heated debate and occasionally disturbing the serenity of our proceedings, but he was always considerate of his colleagues and mindful of the limitations of debate.

As his party's leader he bore himself courageously and well, yet I can recall the utterance of not a single sentence, not a single reflection, that left in the mind and heart of any associate a moment's bitterness or pain. That, Mr. President, was the distinguishing characteristic of Senator GALLINGER; his ability to participate in most earnest and strenuous discussion at all times consistent with the highest courtesy. These elements rarely blend together at all times. When they do they should command, as they always must, the instinctive and enduring tribute of affection and of friendship.

Senator GALLINGER served his country for many years, and at the ripe age of 81 passed from this sphere of usefulness into a well-earned eternal rest. I trust, Mr. President, that those who survive us may be inspired with the same sentiments of regret and affection for us when we, "like streaks of morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite azure of the past."

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Address of Mr. Moses, of New Hampshire

Mr. President: Others, from the standpoint of their association with him here, have spoken, and properly, of Senator Gallinger as a figure in the life of the Nation; of his long service in this Chamber; of the part that he played for so many years in shaping the legislation of the country; of his work in forming the policies of his party; and, through that party's long-continued dominance and his own preeminent position in it, of his share in making the political history of the United States during the past generation. I may not claim the privilege of speaking of him thus. My knowledge of his public life was taken in perspective, because the hopes which I had had and which he, in some measure, I am sure, shared with me, of sitting here as his colleague, never came to fruition. And, Mr. President, it is perhaps not out of place that I should add that I feel myself humbled as I think of myself as his successor.

I was a lad when I first knew Senator Gallinger, and he had not yet come to his later national fame. He was a physician of merited repute, and such leisure as his busy professional life afforded was spent upon the old estate in the historic town of Salisbury—the home of the Websters—in the ample and hospitable old house to which he turned so longingly in his last stricken days and from which he went the week before his death. My father was a preacher in the neighboring town of Franklin, and on Sunday afternoons he ministered to the diminishing flock which still clung to the ancient temple of colonial faith among the Salisbury hills. As a boy I used to drive

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there with him as he went to carry his message, and there I first met Senator GALLINGER, whose magnetic personality made an impression upon my youthful mind which later association strengthened and confirmed. From then to the day of his death I was privileged to know him; for the last quarter century of his life to know him intimately; to be associated with him in such of his public affairs as related to the State of New Hampshire, or which had their theater of action there; to receive from him confidences such as I have been vain enough to think he gave to few, if any, others; to be with him in times of trial; to share with him his many moments of triumph; to stand beside him in seasons of his grief; and to offer to him all that an ardent and affectionate discipleship could give to a leader.

In consequence, Mr. President, I shall seek to speak of Senator GALLINGER to-day, not as a public man, not as a legislator, not as leader of his party in this Chamber and elsewhere, but as a friend.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to view Senator GALLINGER's life in any aspect without taking into the account his public career—which covered nearly half of all his years and which occupied the greater part of the long span from the day of his majority to the day of his death.

When I first knew the Senator he was at the very beginning of his national career. He had served with such distinction in the lower house of the New Hampshire Legislature as to merit his promotion to the State senate, where he was made president of that body. He had conducted successfully, in behalf of a friend, the most prolonged and most bitterly contested struggle for a nomination to the governorship which our party in New Hampshire had ever known; and he had followed that task with equally successful leadership in the election campaign, where, as chairman of the Republican State com-

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mittee, he wrested victory almost from the jaws of defeat. This achievement had clearly marked him out for further advancement in public life; and he was then in the midst of his first campaign for nomination to Congress—a canvass in which he was confronted by one of the most adroit and resourceful of New Hampshire Republicans, who was supported almost unanimously by the legal profession, to which he belonged, and who, by tactical considerations and by capable service for the party and in office, seemed inevitably destined to win. In that canvass Senator GALLINGER's skill as a political manager was displayed, I have often thought, as never before nor since; and following his nomination he again took the chairmanship of the State committee and carried himself and his whole ticket through to victory.

He entered Congress with the first Cleveland administration. His party was in the minority, but he took his place with the constitutional opposition which our political system provides, and his genius for leadership found immediate opportunity for expression. He took a prominent part in debate, and his vigorous speeches found wide distribution as campaign documents. His second nomination to the House of Representatives came to him without opposition; and again in the chairmanship of the State committee he had the honor of carrying his party to victory in the election. The impression which he had made during his first term was heightened by the activities of his second to such an extent that a serious movement arose in New Hampshire to overthrow the then existing doctrine of rotation in Congress, which limited our Members of Congress to two terms, and to give to him a third nomination by acclamation. Committed, as he felt himself to be, to the existing order, he checked this movement and announced his candidacy for the United States Senate.

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That canvass marked the only defeat which Senator GALLINGER's political career has known. His opponent's triumph in the legislative caucus was of such proportions that many observers believed that Senator GALLINGER's political life was ended. But their judgment was formulated without knowledge of the man. He at once announced his candidacy for the senatorial seat to become vacant two years hence; and, freed from the restraints of office and beginning the effort—never wholly accomplished—of shaking himself free from the demands of his professional occupation, he devoted himself to organizing for the contest which lay ahead of him. Against him were arrayed the sitting Senator, one of the most popular of our ex-governors, and others of lesser consequence in the political field. Around Senator GALLINGER were gathered the friends whom he had made in public and private life, and dominating the whole of his canvass was his own inspiring and forceful leadership. He won the nomination and the election followed in due course.

His early days in this Chamber were affected by differences with his colleagues, which arose out of the intensity with which the Senator's first campaign for the Senate had been conducted. The result, I am sure, was a period of stress for both of them, and I know that the reconciliation which was later effected brought equal satisfaction to the two Senators and to their host of friends in New Hampshire.

Following Mr. Chandler's retirement from the Senate, Senator GALLINGER's supremacy in New Hampshire became unquestioned. Two reelections came to him by unanimity and another was won by a secure margin. This contest was the Senator's sunset campaign. He was in his seventy-eighth year; he was running for the first time in a primary and in a popular election of a Senator; he was seeking a fifth term; and it was at a time, within

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easy recollection, of the Republican division of two years before. His opponent was young, but no younger in spirit than his antagonist; his opponent was active in the canvass, but no more so than his seasoned opponent; his opponent was vigorous and plausible on the stump, but he was unable to match the reasoned arguments of the Old Man Eloquent.

This campaign, Mr. President, brought Senator GALLINGER to new relations with his people, or, to speak more accurately, into renewed relations with them, such as he had not sustained since his second campaign for Congress nearly 30 years before. And it became immediately evident that neither his powers nor his charm had diminished. In that canvass, Mr. President, I was privileged to speak with Senator GALLINGER more frequently than any other of his coadjutors in the campaign, and as we rode, each day and night, from place to place, I think I found a deeper insight into his character than I had before possessed.

His alert mind was keen to seize upon each detail of the trying canvass; his marvelous memory proved an inexhaustible storehouse of opportune citation when confronted with what otherwise might have been a troublesome problem; his unfailing good humor was proof against all annoyances and was no inconsiderable factor in smoothing out the rough places in the journey to success. And when the victory had been won his great heart not only awarded to each who had assisted him his merited portion of praise but, with characteristic magnanimity, it shut out the memory of the injuries which had been sought against him.

He began his last term here with fond expectation of following it to its allotted end. But its cares burdened his strength. He was unremitting always in his attendance here, and his tireless industry never flagged. His

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serenity of spirit was rarely disturbed to outward appearance, but it was evident that he was greatly perplexed by the national problems which the war had brought. Twice within his last year he came face to face with death; and it was only his iron constitution, preserved by his clean life, that enabled him to come from his chamber of convalescence to the Capitol in order to vote for the declaration of war and to take up his work as a Senator in a war Congress.

How well he did that work has been attested here today by those who saw it. How reluctantly he laid it down, I can testify, for I saw him on the day before he left Washington for the last time, and his mind, though looking forward to the healing days which he hoped to pass in the New Hampshire hills, nevertheless looked beyond them to the days of restored strength, when he would be back here again at the tasks which he knew so well and performed so perfectly. But it was not to be. His sturdy figure belied the weakness which his prolonged and excessive devotion to duty had brought upon him, and he left this Chamber, the scene of his labors, and this city, where there arise on every hand so many evidences of his forethought and tastes, never to return. And I venture to believe, Mr. President, that nowhere outside of his own State of New Hampshire will there be found those who will mourn Senator GALLINGER more sincerely than in the city of Washington, whose people knew him for years as the painstaking and alert chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

Turning to contemplate Senator GALLINGER in the friendly relationship which I am pleased to think so long subsisted between him and me, words elude me as I try to express how much my association with him has meant to me, and how much his death means to me now. Deprived of the further benefit of his companionship and

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inspiration in the flesh, I still love to believe that I retain my connection with him in the spirit and that my recollection of him will in some measure afford to me the counsel which I never sought of him in vain.

In his last years, Mr. President, Senator GALLINGER drank deeply of the waters of bitterness. His younger daughter was taken from him in the days when her charming matronhood gave promise of happy years to come; the wife of his youth, who had shared with him so many of the years of his distinction, died, instantly, at his side; his oldest son fell dead just as he and his father were returning from a happy journey abroad; and his last-born, in whom centered great hopes for the continuance of the Gallinger name in the profession which the father had so adorned, was tragically taken away. A less robust spirit would have been crushed by all this. There were left to him, however, the sweet solace of filial affection from his surviving daughter and the care of a devoted sister, and to these were added the heightened solicitude of the friends who were now bound to him by stronger bonds than ever. His own serene Christian spirit was no small factor in making the close of his life calm and beautiful; and he died in the fullness of years and of honors, and all that we say here to-day will be reechoed in the hearts of the thousands who knew and loved him.

At the risk, Mr. President, of running counter to the opinions which some have expressed here to-day, I venture to say that Senator GALLINGER did not die as he had wished. In spite of his advanced years, he had reason to think, because of his heredity, that his life still would extend no inconsiderable span. And I know from his own lips that he had looked forward to a time when he could lay down the responsibilities of the Senatorship and take his place in retirement as an elder statesman, viewing

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and commenting upon the public life of the Nation as the years of his experience would warrant. But, Mr. President, this was not to be. His life was destined to have no evening. He went out while it was yet day and with his labors yet upon him. He went from his work direct to his reward.

And after all, Mr. President, it was fitting that this should be so, and that the old warrior should not have laid off his armor. The memory of Senator GALLINGER inactive would be a strange picture in the minds of those who knew him; and his death in the harness preserves to us his image as he was—earnest, energetic, industrious, and always helpful.

Senator GALLINGER's years were many, but his spirit was always young; and it renewed itself with fresh companionship as his earlier associates fell by his side in his long busy march through life. Around him in New Hampshire in his later years had gathered an ardent group of younger friends who delighted in both his leadership and his companionship. To us he was always "The Chief," and we hailed him thus with respectful affection. He went from us when he was at the height of his years and influence here and at the moment when his busy mind was active in planning for the hope of his heart so soon to be fulfilled in the restoration of his party to power. And so we saw him in those last days still as "The Chief." And, Mr. President, it is as "The Chief" that we shall ever think and ever love to think of him.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and (at 1 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, January 20, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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MONDAY, *January 20, 1919.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions of the House on the life, character, and public services of Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

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PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, *August 19, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father in Heaven, our life, our light, our strength, our courage, our fortitude, our hope, our inspiration, freely Thou hast given; may we freely receive of these precious gifts and use them to the furtherance of civilization, and thus to the honor and glory of Thy Holy Name.

After a brief respite from labors the Congress of the United States has again assembled to take up the arduous duties which rest upon it. Let Thy blessing descend upon all the Members of this House, its Speaker, and all who are connected with it, that with patriotic zeal and renewed fervor they may go forward with the tasks before them and prepare the way for a successful prosecution of the war in which we are engaged.

The flags which float upon this Capitol are again half-mast, marking the passing away of another of the congressional family.

He will be mourned as a great loss to his country. Wise in his conceptions, strong in his convictions, pure in his motives, a man of great parts; peace to his ashes and rest to his soul. Be with his many friends, colleagues, and kinsfolks to comfort and sustain them in this hour of grief.

May we emulate his virtues and hold sacred his memory and think of him as faring on, in the realms of the great beyond, in the name of Him who died that we might live. Amen.

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A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER, for 27 years a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. GALLINGER, to be held in the city of Concord, N. H.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

And that in compliance with the foregoing resolutions the President pro tempore had appointed as said committee Mr. Lodge, Mr. Martin, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Dillingham, Mr. Simmons, Mr. Overman, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Borah, Mr. Bankhead, Mr. Smith of Maryland, Mr. Cummins, Mr. Poindexter, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Weeks, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Curtis, and Mr. New.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Representatives from the State of New Hampshire, I offer the following resolutions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER, a Senator of the United States from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 14 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, no doubt the Members from New Hampshire will at a later date ask the House to set

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aside a day for further testimonial in memory of the distinguished Senator, who was formerly a Member of the House of Representatives, who has just died.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will announce the names of the members of the committee on the part of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Wason, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Gillett, Mr. Greene of Massachusetts, Mr. Treadway, Mr. Phelan, Mr. Olney, Mr. Greene of Vermont, Mr. Dale of Vermont, Mr. Gallagher, Mr. Pou, Mr. Garrett of Tennessee, Mr. Campbell of Kansas, Mr. Timberlake, and Mr. Igoe.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the additional resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 44 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, August 20, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

SATURDAY, *December 21, 1918.*

Mr. BURROUGHS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, January 19, 1919, be set aside for addresses on the life, character, and public services of Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late United States Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent that Sunday, January 19, be set apart

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for memorializing Senator GALLINGER at the same time the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sterling] is memorialized. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

SUNDAY, *January 19, 1919.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. Cannon].

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father in Heaven, we thank Thee that the deeds of man are automatically recorded in the tissues of his soul, that the final result is the character which he builds for himself.

Some men work to live, others live to work. The former are eye servants. The latter are heroes and work for the betterment of mankind, in the community, the State, the Nation, the world. Such men are admired, respected, and loved by all with whom they come in contact.

We are here to-day in memory of two who have placed themselves on the roll of honor, to record on the pages of history their life, character, and public service; that they may live as beacon lights to guide us and future generations, to emulate their virtues, so that when we pass from this life men will rise up and call us blessed.

They are gone. Their works live. We mourn their going, but look forward with bright anticipations to the life eternal. Let this comfort us and their dear ones until Thou shalt call us to join them in the realms of the larger life where peace and happiness shall reign supreme; and everlasting praise be Thine, through the world's Great Exemplar. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the Journal.

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Mr. Foss. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with on this occasion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Burroughs, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, January 19, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution setting aside a time for tributes to the memory of Senator GALLINGER.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Burroughs, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, January 19, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Wason].

Mr. WASON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator of the United States from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

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Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The question was taken, and the resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Wason] is recognized.

Mr. WASON. Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues is very anxious to get away, and I will yield the first place to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Fordney] and follow him.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN

Mr. SPEAKER: There is a world of meaning in that fine old Greek world "eulogy"—the speaking of good words about a man. For years we see him going about his daily duties, performing them with honor to himself and benefit to those whom he serves. We say little or nothing about it, though the consciousness of his presence and his work may be in our minds every day. Then there comes a time when his place is vacant, and we realize what he then was by what he now is not. It is fitting that, before we ourselves are gone, we put in enduring words, so that as long as ink and paper last men may read, our estimate and appreciation of our distinguished fellow servant, who, when he died, was the oldest Member in service in the Senate.

JACOB H. GALLINGER was one of the adopted sons of this Republic, coming to us, like the late Senator McMillan of Michigan, from our sister Commonwealth of Canada. It is a curious coincidence that these two great men, who have done more than almost any others to beautify this city of Washington, were both born in that friendly country at our north. Each of them served for many years as chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, and each believed that, as Congress is the special guardian of the District, it should be cared for and developed as befits the Capital of the greatest Nation on earth.

Canada has sent many of her sons to the United States. Though born under a so-called monarchy, their ideas of

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self-government are the same as ours. The majestic forests and shining lakes of Canada are like those of our own Northern States, and the people of both nations breathe the same glorious air of liberty, and both have the same love and respect for law and order. Our boys and theirs have fought side by side in France for the preservation of civilization. Boston is as much the metropolis of eastern Canada as it is of New England. The pine of Michigan was largely cut by the sons of Ontario and New Brunswick and Quebec. Thousands of farmers of Iowa and the Dakotas have sought homes in the valleys of the Saskatchewan. And the names of James McMillan of Michigan and JACOB H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, conspicuous on the roll of the United States Senate, are proof, if proof were needed, that the frontier between Canada and our own country is scarcely more a separation of common aims and purposes than are the boundaries between our own States.

The greatest danger that confronts the world at this moment is not imperialism, but the horrid irresponsibility that sometimes sneaks under the name of the I. W. W., but now is sweeping through unhappy Russia and defeated Germany under the name of the Bolsheviki. The English-speaking race is and will always be the bulwark of the world against anarchy in every form; and in the contests of the future Canada and the United States will stand side by side solidly against all movements that threaten the safety of society, as so many of her sons stand shoulder to shoulder with us in all the varied interests and activities of modern life.

Others will tell the House of the wonderful versatility and industry of Senator GALLINGER in the affairs of his adopted State and of the Nation and in international affairs. He was eminent in his profession, that of medicine, before a public career claimed his time completely.

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To enumerate even the titles of the different public positions he held would take too long.

He was one of the leaders of his State, of his party, and of his time. Here in Washington he was known as a man who appreciated the needs of the city and recognized that it is the Capital of our beloved country, wholly dependent upon and at the mercy of Congress, therefore to be protected and developed and beautified as befits the dignity of the great people of whose Government it is the official home. It is interesting to see what was the incident that caused Senator GALLINGER to begin to show a friendly interest in District of Columbia affairs. During his first senatorial term, in 1891, he received a letter from the secretary of Harvard College voicing a complaint that the high schools of the District were not then able to prepare students to pass the admission examination to Harvard. Senator GALLINGER offered a resolution of inquiry concerning the matter, and that was the beginning of nearly 30 years of championship of the rights of the District. At that time Senator McMillan was chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, but on his death Mr. GALLINGER was chosen by the Senate for that position.

In 1911 a banquet was given by citizens of the District at which Senator GALLINGER was the guest of honor, and he was there presented with a loving cup by the Chamber of Commerce; a gold watch and chain from the Board of Trade; a basket of American Beauty roses from the teachers of the public schools; a silver pitcher from the Plate Printers' Union; and a silver desk set from the American Civic Association. Among the visible monuments of his chairmanship are the great Washington Terminal, the filtration plant which gives clear water to this city, the new sewer system, the District Building, the highway Potomac River Bridge, the beautiful Connecticut

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Avenue Bridge, the Anacostia Bridge, the Massachusetts Avenue Bridge, and great developments of the parks and schools, among the latter the Business High and McKinley Manual Training Schools; and there are even more important tangible benefits that are the results of his tireless interest. At that dinner President Taft was one of the speakers, and this brief tribute can not be concluded better than by a quotation from his remarks on that occasion. He said:

> There is a class of legislators who favor legislation because of the good that it is going to do when it is enforced, and there is another class who are in favor of legislation wholly without regard to what it is going to accomplish as an enforced law, but who take an interest simply because of the votes that the advocacy of the law is going to give them. Now Senator GALLINGER belongs to the former class.
>
> They have in New England what they call safe men. By that they mean men who, from their youth up, feel charged with the responsibility of looking out for the community in which they live; first the village, then the town, then it may be the county, then the State, and finally the Nation. They seem to be able by what they do to impress the people with the idea that if they are given a public trust they will regard it as a trust for the people, and can themselves be trusted as safe men for the people to put in power. Now that is the kind of man that Senator GALLINGER is, and that is the reason for his hold on the State of New Hampshire.

Senator GALLINGER started in life as a poor boy, spending some time as a typesetter in a printing office. He finally obtained an education and then rose to the high position occupied so long by him—abundant proof of the worth of the man. Those who knew him best loved him best. He was courageous; he was honest; he was a true gentleman.

When you have found a man you have found a gentleman. A gentleman is a man who is gentle. Titles, graceful accomplishments, superior culture, princely wealth,

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great talents, genius, do not constitute a man with sufficient attributes to make a gentleman. He may be awkward, angular, homely, or poor, and yet belong to that class known as gentleman. His face may be bronzed, his hand may be huge and hard, his vest patched, like Joseph's coat of many colors, and he may still be a true gentleman. The dandy is a dry-goods sign, and not a gentleman, for he depends upon dress, and not upon his honor and virtue, to carry him into society. The man who has no money is poor; he who has nothing but money is poorer, and he is not a gentleman.

A gentleman is careful to have thoughts and sentiments worthy of him, as virtue raises the dignity of a man, while vice degrades him. True greatness lies in the heart; it must be elevated by aspiring to great things. Others may attract us through the splendor of some special faculty, or the eminence of some special virtue; but in a gentleman it is the whole individual we admire and love. A true gentleman is one whose nature has been fashioned after the highest models. His qualities depend, not upon fashion or manners, but upon moral worth—not upon personal possessions, but upon personal qualities.

A true gentleman has a keen sense of honor. His standard of probity in word and action is high. He does not shuffle or prevaricate, dodge or skulk; but he is honest, upright, and straightforward. When he says, Yes, it is a law; and he dares to say the valiant, No, at the fitting season. A gentleman will not be bribed; only the low-minded and unprincipled will sell themselves to those who are interested in buying them.

The poor boy may be a true gentleman—in spirit and in daily life. He may be honest, truthful, upright, polite, courageous, self-respecting, and self-helping—that is, be a true gentleman. Such was Senator GALLINGER.

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A man's mental powers must be cultivated. The full measure of all the powers necessary to make a man are no more character than a handful of seeds is an orchard of fruits. Plant the seeds and tend them well, and they will make an orchard. Cultivate the powers and harmonize them well, and they will make a noble character. "The germ is not the tree, the acorn is not the oak, neither is the mind a character. The mind is the garden, the character is the fruit; the mind is the white page, the character is the writing we put upon it; the mind is the shop, the counting room; the character is the profits on the trade. Large profits are made from quick sales and small percentages; so great character is made from many little acts and efforts." A dollar is composed of a thousand mills; so is a character composed of a thousand thoughts and acts. Character is formed by a course of actions, and not actions by character. A person can have no character before he has had actions. Though an action be ever so glorious in itself, it ought not to pass for great if it be not the effect of wisdom and good design. Great actions carry their glory with them as the ruby wears its colors. Whatever be your condition, keep in view the whole of your existence. Senator GALLINGER was a man of character—a Christian man. He was a brave man; he was powerful; he had the courage of his convictions and the courage to express them at all times.

Frail man comes into the world crying, cries on through life, and is always seeking after some desired thing which he imagines is labeled happiness or is mourning over some loss which makes him miserable; a restless mortal with an immortal soul, which requires something more than earth can give to satisfy its lofty desires; a soul that hails death as a welcome messenger to deliver it from its ever-changing, ever-decaying prison house of clay, called man, on which time wages a perpetual war, whiten-

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ing his locks, furrowing his cheeks, stealing his ivory, paralyzing his muscles, poisoning his blood, battering his whole citadel, deranging the whole machinery of his life, and wasting his mental powers, until he becomes twice a child, and then delivers him over to his last and best friend, Death, who breaks the carnal bondage, sets the spirit free, opening the door of immortal happiness, returning the soul to its own original and glorious home, to go no more out forever.

We at death leave one place to go to another; if godly, we depart from our place here on earth and go to our place in heaven; we depart from our friends on earth and go to our friends in heaven; we depart from the valley of tears and go to the mount of joy; we depart from the business of life here and go to a heavenly paradise. Who would be unwilling to exchange a Sodom for a Zion? Who would be unwilling to exchange misery for a haven of rest?

When these hands of ours shall be pulseless and cold and motionless as the grave wherein they lie; when the damp, dewy vapors shall replace this sensible, warm motion, and death shall spread our couch and weave our shrouds; when the winding sheet shall be our sole vesture, and the close-sealed sepulcher our only home, and we shall have no familiar companions, no rejoicing friends, let us hope that our souls may recline in the bosom of God.

Life, we've been long together,
Through pleasant and cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away; give little warning;
Choose thine own time;
Say not Good night, but in some brighter clime
Bid us Good morning.

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Mr. SPEAKER: In the present Congress the Grim Reaper has been wielding his scythe with relentless vigor. He has been impartial, too, in choosing his victims. Youth and old age alike have succumbed to his irresistible stroke.

Among those who have fallen none was more highly esteemed by his associates than the lamented Senator from New Hampshire, JACOB H. GALLINGER. He had served his country long and faithfully in the House as well as in the Senate. He was one of the old school of statesmen in public life. He was a thoroughgoing partisan. But he was always impartial and fair and just even in his partisanship. Above all else, he was a thoroughgoing American who loved his country with patriotic devotion. He did not believe that he was stronger nor better than his party. To him party creed demanded that all differences as to policies should be thrashed out in the party council. Therein again he showed himself as belonging to the old school. He did not believe in that course, so often followed by some latter-day politicians, of fighting his party associates and denouncing the party organization because an overwhelming majority of his associates did not come to his way of thinking. He always was ready to compromise differences within the ranks and in the fold rather than engage in party quarrels. He realized that our Government had grown strong and great by reason of the readiness of the leaders of the past to compromise their differences.

He knew that this Government from the first has developed as a great Nation because men of patriotism and loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Republic have been willing to modify their personal views in order that

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all could agree on the policies to be followed for the welfare of this American Commonwealth. He knew that it was thus in the Constitutional Convention that framed our historic fundamental law. He knew that it was thus with reference to the location of this very Capital, which he as chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia did so much to improve and beautify. He knew that it was thus down the long years of the formative period of our country's history. Senator GALLINGER was loyal to these traditions of the past, and we honor him for his sturdy stand on the great questions that arose during the many years he was a Member of the Senate of the United States.

At the time he entered that historic body there were many old customs that marked the relationship between Members of the House and the Senate that seem to have fallen into innocuous desuetude. It was customary in the old days for the Senators to leave their cards upon the desks of the Members of the House from their respective States on the opening day of the new session. It was customary for the Members of the House to call personally upon the President of the United States and the Senators from their State as soon as possible after arriving in Washington in order to pay their respects.

It was customary even among the wives of the Members of Congress for the new Members' wives to call upon the wives of all the Members who had served longer in Congress than their own husbands, and especially was this true with regard to the wives of the Members from one's own State. These little social amenities and courtesies added something of pleasure to the dull routine of congressional life here in Washington, but these customs are rapidly disappearing. In fact, they had disappeared almost entirely in the closing years of Senator GALLINGER's life. Whether the Capital or the country has gained by

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breaking away from the old forms and traditions I do not know, but the fact remains that in the old days Republicans and Democrats were much more apt to see something of each other's social side than they do under present-day conditions.

Senator GALLINGER, toward the close of his life, suffered many hard blows at the hands of fate. Many of his dear ones were removed from him by death. I lived at the same hotel as he when some of these blows fell. I know how deeply his life was affected by the losses he sustained. But he toiled on unceasingly for the welfare of his country.

He participated actively on all the important legislation that has been written on the statute books of our country in the last quarter of a century. But he was especially interested in the rehabilitation of our merchant marine. Coming from New Hampshire, he doubtlessly remembered how the enormous fleet of New England clipper ships carried the American flag into almost every important port on the seven seas. He remembered how they had built up the commerce of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. Doubtlessly he hoped that such a condition might be reestablished under wise and helpful legislation enacted by Congress. But, alas, his hopes in that direction were doomed to disappointment. Whether those who are left behind will be able to follow his farsighted vision remains to be seen.

To-day we are met to pay a last tribute of respect to his memory. His genial presence is missed by all of his associates in either branch of Congress. Such men as he who served their country well and faithfully are always missed when they pass to that bourn whence no traveler ever returns. In this hour we say from the depths of our hearts—good friend, faithful public servant, thoroughgoing American, hail and farewell.

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Address of Mr. Wason, of New Hampshire

Mr. Speaker: It is with sorrow that it becomes my duty at this time to speak of the life and character of the late Senator Gallinger, an honored resident of my congressional district for more than a half century. Jacob Harold Gallinger was born on a farm near Cornwall, Canada, March 28, 1837. He was one of 12 children. His parents were without financial means. During his early boyhood he walked to the log schoolhouse, a mile and a half from home, where he was taught to read, write, and do sums in arithmetic. At the age of 11 years he was indentured to the village editor, and three years later finished his apprenticeship with him. His wages the first year were $8, board, and lodging; the second year he received $24, board, and lodging, and the third and last year of his apprenticeship he received $60, board, and lodging. He was then qualified as a journeyman printer. He then went to Ogdensburg, N. Y., where he worked as a journeyman printer. While employed setting type in the office of the St. Lawrence Republican in Ogdensburg he received a letter from a cousin, a professor in a medical college in Cincinnati, Ohio, advising him to become a doctor. The suggestion was accepted. He started for Cincinnati and arrived there with $100 in his pocket, which was all of his worldly possessions, $60 of which was paid at once for a course of medical lectures. He and two other students rented two rooms, where they cooked their meals and slept. He immediately found employment on the Cincinnati Gazette, first setting type, then reading proof, and later reporting shipping news along the river and court news over in Covington, Ky.

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Thus the young man worked diligently to earn a livelihood and pay his way at the medical school. Each day's work engaged his attention from 8 o'clock in the morning until 12 or 1 o'clock the next morning, attending medical lectures and performing his work upon the newspaper.

He graduated with honors from the medical school in 1858. After that he was abroad two years and pursued further the study of medicine and surgery. Returning to the United States, he located in Concord, N. H., and began the practice of his profession, which he pursued in that city and the surrounding country for 23 years. His robust physique, which had served him so well during his stay in Cincinnati, continued to permit him during the years of the active practice of his profession to travel day and night making his calls to relieve the sufferings and ills of his patients; his patrons and clientele took him miles into the country at all times of the day and night. I have heard him say that often he had been called out from his house a half dozen times between supper and breakfast, many times for trips into the country.

He was soon recognized as a leader in his profession. His skill, his cheerful word and manner, and his magnetic presence contributed to his personal advantage and made friends for him which lasted for life. Dr. GALLINGER'S professional practice was not confined to the territorial limits of the city of Concord or the county of Merrimack, in which he lived, but extended to people living in towns and parishes in bordering States. His reputation and standing as a physician and surgeon will be preserved in the hearts of the generation that knew him as steadfastly as the granite rock in the mountain side of our State.

While pursuing diligently the practice of his profession, which he loved and honored, some of his friends nomi-

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nated him as a candidate for the office of moderator in the fourth ward of the city of Concord; the remuneration for that service was $5. He served one term and declined a reelection to that distinguished honor. It marked, however, the beginning of a political career. Soon after his precinct elected him as their representative in the house of representatives of the State legislature, and he served his precinct well and faithfully in that branch in 1872 and 1873 and later in 1891. The same precinct elected him as its member to the State constitutional convention in 1876. Dr. GALLINGER's ability and fidelity to service in this branch of the legislature was particularly noticeable. The senatorial district in which he lived elected him a member of the State senate in 1878, 1879, and 1880, and that body selected him as its presiding officer twice, for the years 1879 and 1880.

During the years 1879 and 1880 Dr. GALLINGER held the office, by appointment of the governor of New Hampshire, of surgeon general of the State National Guard, with the rank of brigadier general.

Early in life Senator GALLINGER became affiliated with the Republican Party; its principles appealed to him. The Republican State committee urged him to accept the important and onerous position as chairman. He yielded to the request, and from 1882 to 1890 performed the duties of that office with satisfaction to all. When he resigned many regrets were expressed and his resignation was reluctantly accepted. Again, in 1898, the Republican State committee appealed to him to accept the chairmanship, and after eight years' absence from that place he accepted and continued in that position until 1908, when he resigned. In discharging the duties of this office Senator GALLINGER impressed those who came in contact with him with his industry and ability to master details as well as broad questions of policy, and his term of service in that

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capacity was successful and longer than any other man in the history of our party in the State.

Our people elected him a delegate to represent them in the Republican national conventions of 1888, 1900, 1904, and 1908, and he was chosen by the delegation as its chairman for each of those conventions. Thus it will be noted that the people of New Hampshire had unbounded confidence in his integrity, his ability, and his adaptability to represent them in various capacities.

Such, briefly, are the historical facts that speak volumes in behalf of the esteem in which Senator GALLINGER was held by the Republicans of the Granite State. His life was active in doing good for others and closely interwoven with the history of our State for more than half a century. But this is not all; the people of New Hampshire recognized that Senator GALLINGER's activities and ability should not be confined to the local activities of the State. In 1884 he was elected a Representative in Congress from the second congressional district, and reelected in 1886, and declining a renomination and reelection in 1888. Thus, it will be seen from the 4th of March, 1885, until the 4th of March, 1889, he was called upon to serve his people in a larger and broader sphere in the Halls of Congress. During his two terms his services attracted nation-wide attention. After declining a reelection, in 1888, to Congress, he intended to return to the city of Concord and pursue the practice of his profession, but it was impossible; men from all parts of the State sought his advice on public questions. In 1891 he was elected to the United States Senate, his term of service beginning March 4; he was reelected in 1897, 1903, 1909, and in 1914, the latter election being by popular vote. He served continuously as Senator from March 4, 1891, until the 17th day of August, 1918, the date of his death; his services as our representative in the House and

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Senate covering a period of 31 years 5 months and 13 days, more than a quarter of a century in the highest legislative body of our land, being the dean of the Senate in point of continuous service.

A notable characteristic of Senator GALLINGER was his clear vision into the future—I might say, anticipated the advent of questions that were to become momentous public issues. To illustrate: He early espoused the cause of prohibition; calmly, consistently, and courageously advocating the same on all proper occasions; through his long public career he never wavered, and had his life been prolonged six months he would have seen our country adopt his views thereon.

Many years ago he became an advocate of equal suffrage for women, at a time when he was almost a pioneer in that belief; yet he lived to see it one of the great problems confronting the American people and the peoples of the Old World. When he first espoused the cause in favor of these far-reaching principles he displayed courage that was characteristic of the man. Many of his friends felt and advised him that it was unwise for him to continue to advise the public of his belief in the cause; many were emphatic, and told him that it would injure him politically, yet he continued not heeding their advice; in his subsequent candidacies he received the sincere and active support of many men who disagreed with him on one or both of these issues, due, as I believe, to the fact that they admired his candor, his sincerity, and his wisdom.

Senator GALLINGER early espoused the cause of the veterans of the Civil War—in his national activities in Congress assisted with force and power every worthy case that was presented to him. In the Senate for many years he was chairman of the committee that considered general and special legislation relating to pensions. The can-

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dor and sympathetic spirit with which he administered justice in these classes of legislation made him an honored friend by our surviving heroes of that conflict.

To recount the legislative career of Senator GALLINGER would require a volume, and his wisdom as a public servant well merits a fulsome biography. His extraordinary ability as a legislator is the more remarkable for the reason that he was educated for the medical profession. Most public servants and statesmen select one great measure on which to focus their energies; most of them have a pet measure with which to occupy their time when momentous issues do not hold the center of the stage. Not so with Senator GALLINGER. He was ever alert to the needs of his State and country; his information and foresight upon large public questions seemed almost boundless. The tariff, the establishment of an adequate merchant marine, the enlargement of our Navy, the extension of our system of education, measures relating to health, and the development and beautification of our National Capital found in him an earnest and forceful advocate.

Let me briefly recall his beneficial services and advice in behalf of the development and making the city of Washington, our Nation's Capital, one of the most beautiful among all the capitals of the world. When he entered the United States Senate he was appointed a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, serving thereon for more than 20 years, the latter half of his services being chairman of the committee. This work was agreeable to him; he enjoyed the vast opportunities presented; he visioned the needs of the National Capital early in his service and began systematically to bring about many needed reforms and improvements. The cool streams and forest glades of Rock Creek Park owe their improvement and conservation to his efforts. The beautiful memorial to the late President Lincoln, known as the Lincoln Me-

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morial; the Connecticut Avenue Highway Bridge; the highway bridge across the Potomac; Piney Branch Bridge on Sixteenth Street; and the Massachusetts Avenue Bridge will be silent and perpetual monuments of his foresight and efforts.

He was active and earnest in the promotion and establishment of a filtration plant to improve the drinking water furnished by the water system of the city, and at the time of his death a half million people there were enjoying the benefit of that needed improvement.

The Zoological Park, with 170 acres, is additional evidence of his wisdom and energy. One of the finest testimonials to his sense of civic beauty was the improvement and establishment of Potomac Park and the construction of the beautiful driveways thereon, and the development of the plan for improvements of that portion of the city lying between the Capitol Building and the westerly portion of the Potomac Drive, so called.

During his entire service in the Senate he was particularly active and aided in the improvement of the educational system and of the school buildings and surroundings of the District. His efforts were so noticeable and so well directed that he was familiarly referred to by the people residing in the National Capital as the "Mayor of Washington." His attention was early in his service directed to the hospital conditions of the District, and one of the last and much-needed improvements was the new municipal hospital that he urged, and largely by his influence and patience was finally authorized. It is now being constructed on the extension of Massachusetts Avenue. As a fitting token of the appreciation and esteem of his untiring energy and efforts in causing the same to be established and constructed, it has been named and is now known as the Gallinger Hospital. When completed and ready for occupancy the million-dollar structure will

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stand for centuries a silent and eloquent tribute to the memory and distinguished services of the man whose name it bears.

Senator GALLINGER was particularly honored on his seventy-fourth birthday, March 28, 1911. His friends in Washington arranged a banquet in his honor at the New Willard Hotel and 500 persons attended. Among those in attendance were the President of the United States, Cabinet officers, ambassadors, members of the Supreme Court, Senators, Congressmen, and prominent citizens of the District of Columbia and from other parts of the country. It was a notable gathering, a tribute seldom paid to a living man. The decorations were exquisite. Enthusiasm for Senator GALLINGER, the guest of the evening, was unbounded, as shown by the incidents during the dinner. Permit me to refer to one—the waiters marched into the banquet hall with letters on their trays that spelled "Gallinger." As the party saw the name they arose from their seats, cheering and waving their napkins in the air; the orchestra struck up "What is the matter with father," and the diners caught the sentiment instantly and sang—substituting the word "Gallinger" for "father," ending with the enthusiastic "He's all right." The speakers dwelt at length upon the wisdom, judgment, patience, and successful efforts of Senator GALLINGER in his efforts to improve and beautify the National Capital.

President Taft said:

> You could not use the function of a dinner for a better or higher purpose than to testify your gratitude and that of all good citizens of the United States to a servant and a Senator who does things because they are to do good to the people.

The chairman of the District Commissioners, Mr. Rudolph, speaking of the Senator, said:

> He has with untiring devotion studied our needs and problems, and with wisdom and courage never failed to advocate and press such measures as would aid in making this the greatest city of the world.

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A former District Commissioner, Mr. Macfarland, said:

I can testify that the unexampled appropriations and legislation obtained for the District of Columbia were due more to you [Mr. GALLINGER] than to any other one man in Congress.

The Yankee poet wished that he might live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man. Officially as well as personally you have lived that way.

Gen. Harries said:

Of the good works done by Senator GALLINGER and the evils he has checked there is not, nor can be, any catalogue.

Capt. James F. Oyster said:

The people of Washington are thankful to the people of his State for sending him here.

The life of Senator GALLINGER, replete with beneficial duties for mankind and for his adopted State and country, adds another name to the long list of statesmen, residents of New Hampshire, during the preceding century and a half.

Senator GALLINGER was a self-made man in every respect; his push and perseverance exhibited in early life enabled him to get his education; that education laid the foundation for his future life of activity and usefulness. The habits thus formed in his boyhood days were retained throughout his busy life until his death. Day by day, month by month, in the execution of life's responsibilities he progressed and advanced; he was not satisfied until he had reached the highest pinnacle of understanding of each and every effort before him. He was endowed with a robust constitution and a wonderful power of endurance, which served him well during his fourscore years of life. He was a courteous man, an affable man, a sincere man, a man with strong convictions, tender-hearted, and his sympathies were with the downtrodden and the oppressed. There was no decep-

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tion or sham in his nature; he abhorred them. He easily made friends and retained them, and was ever enlarging his circle of friends and admirers. These attributes were a part of his nature from early manhood until life's end. He was a public speaker, possessing great convincing power and force; his reasoning was logical, sound, and clear; he possessed the ability to sway his hearers by sincere, logical, and forceful explanations of his subject.

For many years when the Senator became weary and tired by close application to the arduous duties required of him in Congress, or when Congress was not in session, he intensely enjoyed a visit to his country home, known as "The Poplars," a picturesque farm and buildings in the town of Salisbury, N. H., situated on an elevation just east of Kearsarge Mountain. There, among the rare flowers which he grew and was very fond of, and beneath the beautiful shade trees overlooking the green fields and pasture and timberland of his estate, he communed with nature and, lulled to rest and sleep by the music of the song birds and the chattering of the squirrels, his weary and overburdened constitution would revive, his energy return, and with renewed vigor he would resume the responsibilities of public life. It was here that he spent many pleasant days and enjoyed needed relaxation from busy life. It was here that he was resting and enjoying life when he became ill and answered the summons of the Great Master. The news of his death was received by the public with sadness and grief by his colleagues and the people in the National Capital and by the people of his adopted State. The activities of the city of Concord, the capital of our State, were recessed and public and private buildings were draped in mourning as the last rites were performed. The church was inadequate to accommodate the throng of people who came from afar and near and by their presence expressed their love, admiration, and

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profound respect for the man of remarkable age whose noble deeds for humanity, covering a period of more than a half century, will be tenderly remembered and often recalled and referred to by future generations.

> Cold in the dust the perished heart may lie,
> But that which warmed it once can never die.

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Address of Mr. Madden, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: It was my privilege, and I deem it a high privilege, to know Senator Gallinger for 30 years and I was always proud during all that period to be able to call him my friend. I was proud of Senator Gallinger not only as a man but as a public functionary. Senator Gallinger had a singleness of purpose in his public work. He was interested only in the welfare of the Nation. He had no private ax to grind, if I may so speak. He was constantly in search of methods to improve the condition of our people. He had fine courage, ability, and genius to serve the Government's needs. He was a true statesman. He recognized the fact that a public official was the servant of the people. He saw that public office was simply an opportunity to serve. He realized that the more nearly one came to serving the people and advancing and promoting their welfare the more nearly he would come to ameliorating conditions that needed improvement.

Senator Gallinger had a disposition as gentle as a girl. He was sweet, courteous, refined, attractive, magnetic, always approachable, and yet he had strength of character that marked him in a conspicuous way among his associates in public life. He was afraid of nothing. He had the courage to speak; he had opinions, and he was not afraid to express them. He shaped the legislation of the Nation calculated to be of advantage to the generations of the future as much as did any other one man who occupied a high public place either in the House or in the Senate. He was constantly alert to the need of America's expanding commerce, and in season and out of season he worked tirelessly to accomplish that object. He

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believed that America should stand on a basis of equality in its merchant shipping with any other nation in the world, and he never lost an opportunity to advocate legislation to that end. He saw the need, as few men did, of protecting the American market for the American people. He believed in the protection of American industry. He believed that the productions of labor from European markets should not be permitted to enter American ports for free distribution among the American people. He believed that the best way to preserve prosperity in America was to protect America against the invasion of European-made products without the payment of a license fee at the port of entrance. He saw the need of preserving American honor in the conflict which is now happily closed. He stood as one of America's foremost advocates for America's entry into the war. He believed that every assistance possible and necessary should be given to the Commander in Chief to enable him to accomplish victory. He believed that the only way you could raise a successful army was by conscription, and his voice and vote are recorded in the records of the Congress of the United States in favor of the advancement of every American measure.

To his genius and his courage and his foresight and his untiring devotion and his unselfish work is due more than any other man in history the development of this beautiful city as the Capital of the Nation. I can recall sitting on conferences with him when his heart went out to the suffering poor who had no place to go, no money to pay their doctor's bill, and how he insisted on provision being made for their care in the hospitals of this city. I can see him now pleading for greater opportunities for education for the children of this city and of the country, for the building of our public institutions of learning, for proper compensation for the teachers of this great community.

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I can see him pleading for them on the theory that they were making greater sacrifices than any other class of our citizens. I can see him pleading for their future welfare by increasing their compensation to a point where they could have a decent livelihood. I can see him looking into the future of the Nation by providing legislation that would mean better conditions for everyone hereafter.

I saw him pass away from the activities of this life, and I believe I can see him now or hear his voice in a better land beyond. I believe that we can communicate with men like JACOB GALLINGER, dead to life though they may be; for men like JACOB GALLINGER never die. Their life work still lives; still goes on. Their life work must be an inspiration to those of us who yet remain and those who are yet to come. And if we can but have at the head of the Nation in the generations that are to come men of the patriotic promptings that JACOB GALLINGER possessed, the future of America is safe. We need men of this type at the head of our Government affairs. We need men of unselfish devotion; men who have no personal ambitions except to serve their country. I believe that if the men who are here to-day and who are to follow in the control of the Government of the United States shall but walk in the footsteps of JACOB H. GALLINGER while he acted as a Member of this House and a Member of the Senate, the days for America in the generations, yea, in the centuries, yet to come, are safe, and that America will stand before the nations of the world forever to exemplify the life and the strength of this, the greatest of all republics now or yet to come.

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Address of Mr. Gallagher, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: The late Senator from the State of New Hampshire, Jacob H. Gallinger, was a great and good man, and entitled to the confidence and respect of his fellow men, which he held throughout the whole period of his public life.

Born on a farm just outside of the northern limits of Cornwall, Canada, he determined when but a boy to select for himself a career of usefulness. Being one of a family of 12 children, he, of necessity, had to start out quite early to make his way in the world. He became an apprentice to the printing trade, and it was while working as a printer that he determined to fit himself for a profession. He studied medicine at the Medical Institute at Cincinnati, Ohio, and was graduated at the head of his class with the highest honors in 1858. After a time spent in travel and study, in 1861 he settled in Concord to follow the profession of medicine and surgery. I knew Dr. Gallinger perhaps longer than any other man in Congress. It was as a practitioner that I first knew him. As a boy in Concord, the city of my birth, I remember him as a successful physician. His practice was not merely local; his services were in demand for advice and consultation by the profession throughout the State. He became widely known and made lasting friends wherever he went, long before he held public office. His industry did not stop with the performance of his arduous duties as a physician. He obtained recognition as a writer of unusual ability and was a contributor to medical literature. His articles published in the newspapers relating to public questions attracted wide and deserved popular attention.

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In politics he was a Republican and a strong party man from the start. Because of his great interest in public affairs, he was chosen in 1872 a member of the State legislature, where he served with distinction. In 1876 he was elected a member of the State constitutional convention and advocated a number of important amendments which were ratified by the people. He rendered valuable service in the State senate, was chosen its presiding officer, and for many years was chairman of the Republican State committee. Because of his great ability and untiring efforts in behalf of the people, he was elected to represent his district in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and on March 4, 1891, was elevated to a seat in the Senate of the United States.

He did not receive this great honor without passing through the severest political contests and the strongest personal opposition which can come to men holding high office or remaining long in public life. He encountered and overcame obstacles and conquered his opponents through his dominant courage. There was no citizen of the State, no matter how humble, who did not feel free to call upon the Senator for assistance. His services were always freely and willingly given, and because of the affection in which he was held by his home folks they returned him to Congress repeatedly, where he won the esteem and admiration of his colleagues by his eminent service in both branches of the National Legislature. Through perseverance, self-reliance, and great natural ability, he advanced in influence and power until he achieved the distinction of being chosen the leader of his party in the upper House of Congress.

It can be stated truthfully that during his long public career he was a genuine and untiring public servant. From 1891 to the time of his death he remained continuously in the Senate, having served for a longer period

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of time than any other Senator from New Hampshire. Because of his great knowledge of governmental affairs, his counsel was always sought on public questions which were subjects for legislation. His advice was desired equally on problems and policies in which his party was concerned both in Congress and at State and National conventions. As a man of sound logic, his judgment was ever desired and always valued. He was a conspicuous figure in Republican politics for nearly half of a century.

As the minority leader of the Senate he showed superior qualities as a parliamentarian. Ready and powerful in debate, he took an active part in the solution of the great problems of government during all the period of his service in both Houses of Congress. He bore no ill will toward those who opposed him and enjoyed the respect equally of political friend and foe. Always kindly and sympathetic and with a high sense of personal honor, a promise given to a colleague was with him a compact to be carried out with strict fidelity. In the late war he gave unswerving support to the President in every measure having for its purpose the successful termination of the conflict.

I was one of a committee appointed by the Speaker to attend the funeral of Senator GALLINGER at Concord. The exceptional honor paid to his memory on that occasion by the officials of his State is worthy of note. As an extraordinary evidence of the respect and veneration in which he was held, his remains were taken to the Capitol Building, there to lie in state, that the people of the city and of the Commonwealth he so long and honorably represented might pay their final tribute to him. Only once before was a similar mark of respect shown to a citizen of New Hampshire, and that was on the occasion of the death of a former President of the United States, Franklin Pierce. From all over the Old Granite State and from

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many sections of the country sorrowing friends attended the last exercises over the body of the departed statesman.

Senator GALLINGER's life is unique in many particulars. Despite his great age, he reached the zenith of his power and popularity when he was called to his last reward. In all the history of our public men few served in Congress for so long a period as Senator GALLINGER, and it is doubtful if any departed leaving a greater good will than did the Senator from New Hampshire. The annoyances and difficulties incident to a public career did not corrode his nature or alter his kindly disposition. He remained to the end of his industrious and distinguished career the same courteous gentleman I first knew as a young physician in Concord. Dr. GALLINGER went out of this life with a consciousness of duty well and faithfully performed and with the lasting friendship of his colleagues and associates; he closed his long and splendid career possessing the confidence, respect, and admiration of the entire Nation.

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Address of Mr. Sherwood, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: As a plain citizen of the Republic Senator Gallinger was well worth knowing. Aside from his wide knowledge of public men and affairs of government he had an alluring personality. He was gifted with delightful social qualities and a rare sense of humor, without which, to quote the specious words of Richard La Gallienne, "the heart of humanity had long since broken."

I knew Senator Gallinger well. Was associated with him for four months in 1912 in the prolonged contest of the conferees of the Senate and House on my dollar-a-day pension bill. Again, at two famous banquets in this Capitol in honor of the eightieth and eighty-second birthdays of the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois. Of the 12 present at the last banquet, May 7, 1918, Senator Gallinger was one of the octogenarians. Like a majority of our public men of enduring fame, Senator Gallinger was the sole architect of his remarkable public career. It is history that a majority of our most successful and longest enduring public men were born poor and started life without the advantages of a liberal or college education.

Gen. Andrew Jackson, born of a North Carolina farm laborer, with no opportunities for an education, was the commander of a volunteer army, winner of the only land battle in the War of 1812. Twice President of the United States, in 1828 and 1832, always on the firing line in war, and leaving an honorable and enduring record in peace. Henry Clay, born poor, self-educated, self-made, was the foremost orator and statesman of a whole generation of public men. Abraham Lincoln, born in a Kentucky log cabin, who never saw the inside of a university, and who learned to read books at night by the light of a pine-knot

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fire, became the guiding hand in the grandest epoch-making era of all civilization. His oration on the battle-field of Gettysburg is the most inspiring and glorious classic of all languages.

I know of Senator GALLINGER's boyhood days, and of his early manhood struggles to win recognition and honor in the battle of life. His record in the New Hampshire Legislature, in the National House of Representatives, and in the Senate, covering 47 years of continuous service, has never been equaled by any public man that New England ever honored with a public trust. And his career differs from that of any public man of continental fame of New England birth in that he died in office in the full favor and affection of the people of his State, and not a disappointed man like Daniel Webster, another great son of New Hampshire; or James G. Blaine, of Maine; or Henry Clay, of Kentucky. Even Charles Sumner, ranking among the first of New England's great sons, was officially criticized in a resolution by the legislature of Massachusetts and died a disappointed man.

While New Hampshire is one of the smallest States in the Union in area and population, ranking as the fourteenth in population, it not only furnished in Daniel Webster the foremost orator and statesman of the antebellum period, but during the Civil War a private soldier—Walter Kettridge—composed by the light of a bivouac fire the finest and most pathetic lyric song of the entire war—"Tenting To-night on the Old Camp Ground."

And New Hampshire also was the birthplace and home of the greatest family of patriotic singers ever known in the United States. I refer to the famous Hutchinson family. It is among my earliest and most enduring memories that I heard these singers of thrilling lyrics in 1845, when as a barefoot boy, in the open air one starlit night, to the accompaniment of the bells, I heard their soul-

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inspiring songs. Sixteen years later the same family sang the patriotic songs of the Civil War around the gleaming bivouac fires of the Army of the Potomac.

We should not let this occasion pass without gathering some lesson of value to the living, especially to the young men of to-day, who, like our departed friend in his boyhood, are struggling against what seems adverse fate. The brightest gleam of hope for the poor young men of to-day is in the knowledge that the greatest men who have ever served or shone in the high places of power in this Republic have been, like Senator GALLINGER, of humble birth and limited opportunities in boyhood.

I am not here to decry a college education. I believe there is some merit in one couplet of an old English poet:

> 'Tis education forms the common mind,
> Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.

But we have many notable instances in our history of too much cultivation of the common mind, where this excessive cultivation, like the long cultivation of the old tobacco lands of Virginia, has exhausted all the original substance of the soil. It sometimes happens that too much acquired book knowledge drives out all intuitive perception or original thought. Hence, we have many notable instances where the robust mind of a robust man, who is compelled to graduate in the school of hard knocks and common sense, proves the most successful citizen or public official.

And let us here in this historic Chamber reconsecrate ourselves to that patriotism that was always so fervently typified in our dead friend, a statesman whose association and friendship added to our joys of living and whose character and example gave us hope for higher ideals in government.

> Such graves as his are pilgrim shrines,
> Shrines to no code or creed confined—
> The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
> The Meccas of the mind.

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Address of Mr. Greene, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: Senator Gallinger became a Member of the United States Senate seven years before I became a Member of this House. I never met him until I met him in this Capitol. I had read of him so much in the New England newspapers that I felt acquainted with him even before I met him here. He had a very remarkable career, as I knew it by an intimate knowledge of what occurred in his life as recorded faithfully in the papers, which then kept full account of New England movements and New England public men.

Coming to this House in 1898, I was assigned by Speaker Reed to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and I have served on that committee continuously since I have been a Member of the House.

A few years ago when committee appointments were desired on the Republican side of the House I had one or two other committee assignments which I voluntarily surrendered to accommodate some of my colleagues who desired to be recognized, and since that time I have devoted my whole attention to the work of that committee of which I was chairman three and one-half years, and thus I was brought in close contact with Senator Gallinger, as he was a member of the Committee on Commerce in the Senate of the United States. He was concerned in everything that related to advantage for the American merchant marine. He was a firm believer in retaining for the American-owned vessels and American-commanded vessels the right and privilege of our coastwise trade. That, I think, was one of his strongest contentions. And I learned from him many years ago of the advantages

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that would come from such a course. Since I have been here there has been considerable contention in the committee of which I have been a member toward relaxing that restriction and allowing the coastwise trade to be entered into by foreign-built vessels.

We talk sometimes of maintaining great armies and great navies in order that our honor may be preserved. I have always believed in keeping the Nation strong. There is no stronger element for the preservation of the American Nation than the preservation of the coastwise trade for American-built and American-commanded vessels, for the reason that if any enemy approached our coast, either on the Atlantic or the Pacific, if the vessels of the coastwise trade were manned by American seamen and the vessels were commanded by American officers, then we would have a coast guard in addition to our Navy which would detect at any time the approach of an enemy coming to attack our coast. For that reason he and I agreed we would be entirely unwise to admit foreign-owned, foreign-built, or foreign-manned vessels to the coastwise trade.

He was very much interested in the establishment of foreign trade. He believed in building up a great merchant marine. I was a firm believer in that policy myself before I became a Member of this House, and I have been a very much stronger advocate since I have been here than I ever was before. I believe that we should long ago have made every effort to upbuild our American merchant marine, and if we had performed that duty we should have been very much better prepared for war than we were because of so many years' delay in not attending to that great essential of supremacy upon the seas.

Arguments were brought to bear in a great many instances in regard to the lack of necessity for providing

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an American merchant marine. One of them was that other nations could carry our products cheaper than we could carry them ourselves. And consequently, if we wanted to keep transportation we must not encourage an American merchant marine which would be more costly, but to maintain the facilities which we then enjoyed would be very much cheaper.

Senator GALLINGER and others persistently fought against what we believed was a false idea. And since we have been in war one great fact has been revealed, and that is that some men who were away from the sea-coast and who contended that the price of their products would be favorably affected by the reduction in freight rates have been convinced since the recent war that prices of the products of the farm were made on this side of the water and the freight was added to the cost, whatever it might be, and the purchasers paid the freight.

Senator GALLINGER's career was certainly very remarkable. He was not a native of the United States, but he was every inch a typical American.

The dividing line between British North America and the United States would be hard to define. I have many constituents who were born in the same country where Senator GALLINGER was born and who came and settled amongst us in this country, and they are amongst the strongest adherents of our national cause to-day, equal in their belief in and their devotion to the American Nation with those who are natives to the soil.

I have been looking somewhat over Senator GALLINGER's career in public life, in the State of New Hampshire, in the Senate, in the constitutional convention, and also his career in this House, where he served for two terms with honor to himself and credit to his State, and also in the Senate of the United States, where he served from 1891 up to the day of his departure to another life. His public

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career was purely unselfish. He held a high position among the public men of his generation.

He was no timeserver. He was not a man who failed to take a stand on any public question. He was radically a Republican, but he was broad enough to see very much beyond simply the party line. A gentleman said to me, "You are not going to call Senator GALLINGER a progressive?" I said, "No, not in a political sense." I would not call him a "Progressive," because he never had a tincture of progressivism in political theory, but he was progressive in every act of his career. He was an advanced thinker and an advanced doer of great things. He never was backward in anything that he undertook. He put himself forward and served his country at every opportunity.

Allusion has been made by some of the Members who have preceded me to his great work in the United States Senate in behalf of the District of Columbia. I think he was one of the foremost friends of this much-neglected part of our country when it comes to questions of legislation.

He was persistent and foremost during all of his career in endeavoring to secure justice to the people of this most important part of our country, who have no representative in either branch of the Congress. He was interested in everything that meant for the public advancement here, both in regard to public health and in regard to public education. He was a trustee of the George Washington University of this city, a very useful institution. I happen to have a son who was a graduate from the law department of that university, and I frequently talked with Senator GALLINGER in regard to the interests of the university after my son became connected with it and I found him very broad in all his views in regard to education.

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My education was limited in early life, and I have always regretted that I did not then value the advantage which a good education affords; but I want to say, for the encouragement of the youth of to-day, that if any young man does not obtain the education that he thinks he ought to have he ought to take the example of a man like the late Senator GALLINGER, who took advantage of every opportunity that was presented to him; although his educational facilities were not as great as those of some of the young men of to-day, he patiently and persistently pursued the task set before him. He had great natural abilities, and he acquired a wide knowledge of every subject that he undertook to enter upon, and it should be a matter of encouragement to the rising generation to appreciate the opportunities that our country affords. No other country on the face of the earth affords any such opportunities.

Whatever may be concluded in the settlement of the great controversy between other nations through which we have recently passed, whatever may be the final settlement of the great questions that will arise from that conflict, the United States will certainly be one of the foremost of all nations in bringing about a proper settlement of the great problems that will be considered at the peace conference now in session. Senator GALLINGER wrote me a letter in 1915, inclosing to me a bill prepared by himself, and I laid it aside where I could put my hand on it at any time, not then thinking that I would have occasion to refer to it on such an occasion as this. But it has come to my mind that perhaps I ought to refer to it. It is a measure that he introduced in the Senate of the United States on December 7, 1915, entitled "A bill to encourage American shipbuilding and navigation, to establish American ocean mail lines, to increase the naval reserve, and to promote the commerce of the United States."

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I have looked that bill over with a great deal of interest. It provided means which if enacted into law might have built up the American merchant marine. It was a method which I long believed in and which I had tried several times during my membership in this House to have the House favorably consider. Once my party associates succeeded in getting it through this House by a very small margin, but the bill failed in the Senate by reason of the adjournment of a session of the Congress before action could be had. At a subsequent time the Senate passed a bill of that nature, and it came over to this House, but failed of enactment here by one vote. Senator GALLINGER at that time introduced the bill in the Senate, and I very gladly voted for it and worked for it here. I believe in that method of upbuilding a merchant marine rather than by a wasteful expenditure of money.

We have now what is called an American merchant marine established. It has been rather a costly experiment. Enough money was placed by the Congress to the credit of the Shipping Board—nearly $4,000,000,000—to construct 10 Panama Canals, and notwithstanding that vast sum was granted there was only a limited number of vessels that were available to help us win the war. We won the war in spite of our lack of an American merchant marine.

And though we may have failed in some respects, we have undoubtedly prepared the way for future Congresses to provide an American merchant marine. Recently I noticed that the president of the Shipping Board was busy across the water preparing for the establishment of our foreign trade; but before they can get American shipping in shape to compete with the shipping interests abroad we shall have to wipe out at least $1,000,000,000, and I fear we shall be compelled to wipe out a

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second billion of dollars before we can successfully meet the competition with the nations which have been for so long a period of years taking care of their merchant marine while we, as a Nation, have slumbered.

Senator GALLINGER was a member of the Merchant Marine Commission which visited important shipping ports in our own country and subsequently visited foreign countries investigating the necessity of the United States having a merchant marine and to ascertain what hindrances existed there to reestablishing our foreign trade. Senator GALLINGER submitted an elaborate report. Gen. Grosvenor, of Ohio, late a Member of this House, was a member of that commission, as was also Senator Lodge, who became the successor of Senator GALLINGER as the leader in the Senate. They made a very full investigation. Their reports are a matter of record in the Library of Congress and they showed a great deal of interest in this all-pervading subject which I believe will be interesting and helpful for the Congress in the months that are to confront us in the near future.

I regret very much we can not have the advantage of Senator GALLINGER'S presence to help us to solve this great shipping problem, but, as I have stated, his work during his life will be helpful in the solution thereof.

Allusion was made by the gentleman who preceded me to a luncheon that those of our membership who have passed threescore years and ten in this House have been invited to participate for the third time. Senator GALLINGER was present last year at the last anniversary of the birth of Hon. Joseph G. Cannon on May 7, 1918. Several Members who were present at the first and subsequent luncheons have passed away. Senator GALLINGER was present there last year, and from his appearance then all who participated therein expected that we should have the pleasure of his presence for another gathering when

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the next anniversary of the birth of Mr. Cannon should occur. But Senator GALLINGER has gone to that bourn from which no traveler ever returns. We appreciate the great work he did, we recognize the record he made here, and we admire his breadth of character, his engaging personality, and we appreciate also his ability and faithfulness in every work in which he engaged. I was appointed a member of the committee which attended the funeral of the late Senator. His body was carried to the Capitol Building in the city of Concord and there laid in state. At the church where the funeral exercises were held Senator Lodge delivered an eloquent and fitting eulogy on the life, character, and public services of the late Senator, his former associate and personal friend.

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Address of Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming

Mr. Speaker: It was my good fortune to know Jacob Harold Gallinger for nearly a quarter of a century. While our acquaintance and association was not particularly intimate it was of such a character—personal, social, and official—as to enable me to form an intelligent opinion of him and was the foundation of a sincere appreciation of and respect and regard for this distinguished man who for so many years ably represented the Commonwealth of New Hampshire in the Congress of the United States.

That Jacob Harold Gallinger was a great and good man was eloquently and conclusively demonstrated by the fact of the long period of his exalted public service and the number and variety of the distinguished honors and heavy responsibilities placed and conferred upon him during the many years of his active life. No man who did not possess the virtues and endowments of honesty, courage, industry, and ability in a marked and unusual degree could for so long a period of time have retained the affection, confidence, and support of the sane, sensible, and discerning people of the Commonwealth of New Hampshire.

We are reminded by Holy Writ that there is a difference in the quality of glory celestial and terrestrial. Every light that shines to illuminate the moral, the spiritual pathways of men has its own individual and peculiar virtues. Each has its particular mission for good and each differs from the other in the character of the helpful influence and impression it exerts and creates.

Out of the many helpful, stimulating, and illuminating qualities of the character of our departed friend two in

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particular challenged my attention and won my admiration—his steadfastness and his modesty. These are not essential attributes of greatness; in fact they are qualities that have been sadly lacking in the character of some truly great men. The possession of these qualities, however, serve to accentuate other great qualities of heart and mind, and the possession of them brings to their possessor, who is otherwise distinguished, not only the appreciation of his great qualities but the added tribute of unqualified respect and sincere personal affection and regard.

Take him all in all, JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER possessed the kind of character we might wish for our best beloved and dearest friend. The honors that came to him will be long remembered and cherished as a valuable possession of memory by friend and relative, but, after all, that which really counts and will form the most precious heritage of memory will be the praiseworthy way in which he accepted and bore these honors; the modesty, the fidelity, and the wisdom with which he discharged the responsibilities which those honors brought. His earthly work is finished, but the beneficial effect of his work and accomplishments will long continue; above all, the influence of his character, of the great and worthy qualities of his mind and heart, has become a part of the immortal, helpful, moral forces of the universe.

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Address of Mr. Campbell, of Kansas

Mr. Speaker: It is a privilege to have known men of the generation in which Senator Gallinger was a great leader. The generation that is passing with Senator Gallinger has contributed more to mankind than any generation that preceded it in the history of civilization. No other period has seen such progress for the welfare of mankind as this generation has seen. This progress has been largely the result of the high purpose and constructive statesmanship of the men whom that generation selected for their leaders. Men of mediocre ability were not sent to the front lines for action. Mark the achievements. When Senator Gallinger came he found matters much as they had been for centuries. The progress of civilization had been slow and marked by few milestones. Men and women were still carding, spinning, and weaving by hand. They drove their flocks and herds for miles to market. They tilled their soil and sowed their grain and garnered their harvests with simple implements. Financial and fiscal systems were unstable. Economic policies ministered only at short intervals to the welfare of the people statesmen sought to serve.

Senator Gallinger's generation of statesmen have led the civilization of the world in the reformation of all of those things. He was a part of that constructive statesmanship. He saw the rapid advance that was made from the spinning wheel and the loom to the finished machinery and great factories of to-day that minister to the necessities and welfare of mankind. He saw and was part of the statesmanship that adjusted finances and eco-

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nomic policies of this Nation so that industry, finance, and commerce were stabilized.

It is a privilege to have known such a man. Death was kind to him in that it delayed the day of its visit to him until it found him in the ripeness of his years yet in full possession of all those qualities of heart and brain that fit their possessor for usefulness to mankind. He was yet in the possession of all his faculties in a high degree, was still the leader of men, yea, indeed, a great leader in the Senate of the United States, the greatest legislative body of its kind in his day in the world. It was his privilege to be taken from life during his leadership of that great body.

What a mysterious messenger, after all, is death. It comes, removes its victim from place of leadership as well as from place of little note and yet does not disturb the world in its progress. The morning after Senator GALLINGER's death the affairs of the world went on. The Senate and this House paused awhile with bowed heads and paid a tribute to his memory and then resumed under other leadership the work from which he had been taken.

Senator GALLINGER's place will be filled by other men. Few, however, will take to public life and to positions of leadership the high order of constructive statesmanship that he possessed in so rare a degree. He was modest and patient. He respected those who differed with him.

He was full of years and honors when he left life to solve the mystery of death. May we have more like him in the days to come.

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Address of Mr. Austin, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker: It is well that we should on this beautiful Sabbath Day pause to pay just tribute to the character and memory of Jacob Harold Gallinger, New Hampshire's foremost citizen, who has peacefully passed to the great beyond after a life full of usefulness, not only to the State which was proud to honor him but the great Republic he served so long and well.

His record is a prominent part in the legislative proceedings and achievements of the American Congress for more than a quarter of a century. His words and deeds are recorded in the enduring records of the greatest legislative body in the world and during the most important period in the history of the Nation. When Senator Gallinger was a Member of the lower House of Congress one of Ohio's illustrious statesmen, John Sherman, was the President pro tempore of the Senate, along with the brilliant John J. Ingalls, from Kansas, who also presided over the Senate during a part of that period, while that able son of Kentucky, John G. Carlisle, was serving as Speaker of this House. While a Member of the Senate the Speakers of the House were John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, David B. Henderson, of Iowa, Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, and Champ Clark, of Missouri.

During Senator Gallinger's long, faithful, and conspicuous service in the upper House of Congress the White House was occupied by Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

What a long, great, and honorable career of fidelity and usefulness! He served in both branches of the New Hampshire Legislature for six terms, was the presiding

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officer of the State senate, an influential member of the constitutional convention, the surgeon general of the State National Guard, four years of activity in the House of Representatives of the American Congress, to be followed by the people of the State in a promotion to membership in the United States Senate, covering a period of 27 years, or until he was called to his great and final reward.

Through this long period of his official career he was rendering invaluable service to the Republican Party, which had honored and trusted him and whose principles he cherished and loved to serve and promote. He was chairman of the Republican State committee 18 years; member of the Republican national executive committee, delegate to four Republican national conventions, chairman of the Republican senatorial committee, and chairman of the joint caucus of Republican Senators and Members of the House here in the Capitol for the past 10 years. He was an able and impartial President pro tempore of the United States Senate during the Sixty-second Congress.

For a moment consider the great and vital legislative questions to which his name was linked: Chairman of the Merchant Marine Commission, vice chairman of the National Waterways Commission, and member of the National Forest Reservation Commission. At the time of his death he was the chairman of the conference of the minority and an influential member of the Committees on Appropriations, Finance, Manufactures, Pacific Railroads, Printing, and Rules.

His many speeches favoring a merchant marine and a protective tariff are among the strongest, most convincing, and unanswerable to be found in the great debates in Congress during the past quarter of a century. His constant and unceasing work for Washington City and the District of Columbia entitle him to the lasting grati-

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tude of the people of the Capital City and every American who is proud of the official home of the Republic.

Senator GALLINGER was intensely an American. The business men trusted him, for he believed in promoting and safeguarding the commercial and industrial interests of the country. He never waivered in his advocacy and support of legislation to insure the prosperity and happiness of our great army of industrial workers. He was not unmindful of the old heroes whose courage and valor saved the Union, and legislation for them, their widows, and dependent children received his earnest support. No one in the Congress was more anxious or earnest in aiding in providing needed legislation for our successful prosecution of the great world war. Measures for the welfare and safety of the Republic, for the social, moral, civic, material, intellectual, and patriotic improvement and development of all the people ever found in him an earnest and enthusiastic champion.

Senator GALLINGER was absolutely free from pretense and an utter stranger to hyprocrisy. He was open, manly, genial, kind, and could always and under all circumstances be trusted and relied upon to the limit. He was devoted to friends, faithful to constituents, true to party, and loyal to country. The noble deeds to his credit, the splendid example he left, his untarnished name, are precious legacies more enduring and valuable than wealth or rank.

Our families lived beneath the same roof 30 long years ago in this city. He was my esteemed and valued friend and I had every reason to honor, respect, and love him for his unfailing interest and friendship for me and mine.

Mr. Speaker, I offer my simple but heartfelt tribute to the memory of New Hampshire's great and illustrious son, whose private and official deeds will be long remembered and cherished and whose public achievements will not be forgotten by the grateful people of the Republic.

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Address of Mr. Burroughs, of New Hampshire

Mr. Speaker: In the death of Senator Gallinger, at Franklin, N. H., in the eighty-second year of his age, on August 17, 1918, New Hampshire lost her most distinguished and influential public servant and the country at large a leader and statesman who had contributed richly to the national welfare.

Three times elected to membership in each branch of the New Hampshire Legislature; a delegate and chairman of the delegation from his State to at least four Republican national conventions; a member of the New Hampshire constitutional convention in 1876, in which body he took a prominent part in formulating amendments which were later submitted to and adopted by the people of his State; a Member of this House in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, where he early took high rank as an intelligent legislator and forceful debater; and a Senator of the United States continuously for more than 27 years, from March 4, 1891, to the date of his death, it may truly be said of Senator Gallinger that he gave himself wholly and unreservedly to the service of his country. In spite of failing physical powers in recent years, his strength of mind, his grasp of intricate questions, his quickness and acuteness of perception, remained undiminished to the last, and enabled him almost to the day of his death to perform a literally prodigious amount of effective labor.

At no time in his long and honorable public career was his service more highly useful to his State and to the Nation than at the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, just closed, when, with the country at war and himself the leader of his party on the floor of the Senate, he

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was present almost every day and took an active part in the discussion of all important questions.

He died in harness, as he would have wished to die. He died as serenely and bravely as he lived.

JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER was a fine example of what we often speak of as the "self-made man." Born on a farm in Cornwall, Ontario, Canada, March 28, 1837, receiving the advantages of a common school and an academic education, he started life as a printer. He served his time as an apprentice and became a member of the Union of Journeymen Printers. Later in life he took great pride in the fact that he was a member of organized labor, and the Typographical Union and Plate Printers' Union of Washington, D. C., counted him among their stanchest friends. One of the principal addresses at the great birthday banquet given in his honor by the Chamber of Commerce and the citizens of the District of Columbia in 1911 was delivered by the president of one of the local unions, who presented him with a large silver pitcher in token of the esteem in which he was held by the members of the profession in Washington.

He studied medicine in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he graduated at the head of his class. I, myself, have often heard him speak of the privations and sacrifices made necessary for him by those years of preparation. Well do I remember him 35 years ago, riding day and night in all sorts of weather, ministering to the sick throughout the whole country for miles around his home at Concord, N. H., for he was then known as one of the most successful physicians in that locality.

He knew from boyhood the meaning of hard work; long hours had no terrors for him. It was for this reason, I suppose, that he seemed to have scant sympathy with those who in recent times are continually emphasizing the idea that destitution and pauperism and all other ills

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that flesh is heir to are primarily due to existing conditions of civilized society. Was it not under these same conditions that he had started from the bottom and climbed to the top? Why, then, tear down, why overturn, why revolutionize?

Admitting always there is a great deal in the present organization of society which might be improved by well-considered legislation, he held strongly to the belief that the chief cause of suffering and distress in the world is found not so much in social as in economic conditions and failings and defects in the individual. He put emphasis upon the duties and responsibilities of the citizen rather more than upon his rights, and if at times he seemed to some of us to put undue stress on the part which individualism must fulfill in our time we must always remember that he was brought up under the influence of the school of the earlier economists, whose fundamental assumption was that free competition involving freedom of contract and individual liberty was universal and all beneficent.

Throughout his whole public career Senator GALLINGER maintained a firm belief in the wisdom of a protective tariff policy. Indeed, this may truly be said to have been the cornerstone of his whole political philosophy. No statesman of his day had studied this question more thoroughly or had a broader comprehension of its meaning. For more than a quarter of a century no man in either branch of Congress was a more earnest, consistent, and forceful advocate of this doctrine. I have before me as I speak a pamphlet containing a speech by him in the Senate on May 16, 17, and 19, 1894. It is entitled "American Tariffs from Plymouth Rock to McKinley." It was later printed and widely distributed throughout the country by the American Protective Tariff League. It purports to be, as indeed it is, a most exhaustive analysis

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of the arguments both for and against a protective tariff, together with a complete survey of our tariff history from the earliest times. In clearness of statement, wealth of illustration, and comprehensive grasp and treatment of subject matter it is to my mind the strongest as it is altogether the most illuminating speech on the tariff question that I have ever read.

If any man in the public life of America ever lived to see a position that he had taken thoroughly justified by subsequent events that man was Senator GALLINGER with reference to our merchant marine.

For years his voice, with that of his friend, Senator Frye, of Maine, rang out almost alone in the Congress of the United States in eloquent and vigorous protest against the short-sighted and un-American policy under which our flag, once known and honored in every port of the world, had practically disappeared in the foreign commerce of the United States. Again and again he brought home to the American people the incontrovertible facts of history in connection with this subject. He reminded us that once we were masters of the seas, that until after the middle of the nineteenth century our maritime power was preeminently successful, that then we faced inland and turned our energies and attention to the conquest of our continent—we felled our forests, fenced our fields, broke our prairies, built our highways and railroads, bridged our streams, tunneled our mountains, harnessed our water power and exploited our mines, built our cities, and became the greatest agricultural and industrial country of the world, leaving to other nations the task of carrying our products across the seas. At the outbreak of the Civil War we had two and a half millions of tonnage. By 1891 this had been reduced to a little more than 1,000,000, and it had not increased at the outbreak of the recent war. Our Navy had greatly increased, but our

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merchant marine had remained undeveloped. Our shipyards had been closed and the shipwrights had turned their energies in other directions.

As chairman of the Merchant Marine Commission appointed under authority of Congress in 1904 Senator GALLINGER spent months taking testimony in all parts of the country—on the coasts of the North and South Atlantic, the Great Lakes, the Pacific, and the Gulf of Mexico. He prepared a very comprehensive and elaborate report embodying the conclusions of the commission which he, as its chairman, submitted to the Senate at the opening of the third session of the Fifty-eighth Congress. This report is at once a masterpiece of sustained argument and a powerful appeal to the patriotic spirit of the American people. It is but a simple statement of truth to say that if the recommendations therein contained had found expression in the legislation suggested and which Senator GALLINGER later introduced in the Senate and strongly advocated America would not have found herself in the humiliating and defenseless position on the seas that characterized her entrance into the European war.

As no man in the history of our State ever represented her in Congress for so long a period, so it may also truthfully be said that no man ever served New Hampshire in any capacity with a greater industry, loyalty, or devotion than Senator GALLINGER. Nothing that affected the State, its institutions, or its people in any degree was too trivial to receive his painstaking and earnest consideration. Any enterprise that seemed to him to be in the interest of New Hampshire was sure to receive his strong and loyal support. I suppose, for instance, that no man in our public life had done more than he to improve our beautiful harbor at Portsmouth and the navy yard located at the same place. Indeed, one of the very last acts of Senator GALLINGER's official life was to move an amendment to the

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naval bill in the Senate providing for an additional dry dock at the Portsmouth Navy Yard.

Some one has said that all associated action among men exhibits an inevitable conflict between the idea of combined efficiency and the idea of individual freedom. Neither can prevail without some sacrifice of the other. The difference is temperamental and the two types of character are hard to reconcile.

Senator GALLINGER belonged to the type which seeks efficiency by the law of its nature. All of his instincts were for order, discipline, intelligent direction, voluntary subordination to a common purpose. That explains, in my judgment, why in politics, from first to last, he was always for party organization and party responsibility. Certainly he was always a staunch party man. He had the capacity for sympathetic appreciation of the feelings and motives of others, and that, as we all know, is what makes associated action easy. He thought much of the common cause in which he was enlisted and little of his own advantage. He was simple and direct in thought and action, and frank and truthful and entirely free from that cowardice which breeds deception.

Personally, he was one of the most lovable men I have ever known—a loyal friend and charming companion and an affectionate husband and father. His sympathies were broad and generous. He was fond of music and flowers and literature and the companionship of little children. He loved the fields and hills and woods, and through most of his active career found greatest relaxation and rest in the "house by the side of the road" on the little Salisbury farm. There he took the keenest pleasure in the management and betterment of his property. Only last year he drove a deep artesian well on this farm and set out a large number of young apple trees of a special variety that he

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had been at great pains to secure in a western State. He fully expected to "round out a century," as he expressed it, and watch his new orchard in its development. His motto throughout life seemed to be "Act as if you were to live forever—live as if you were to die to-morrow." Sorrow came to him, but he met it manfully. It neither embittered nor crushed him. He was a popular type of the American optimist, imparting confidence and enthusiasm to all who came within the influence of his delightful personality. His course was a steadfast and consistent one throughout his whole public career. His convictions were strong and he held them strongly.

I think it was James A. Garfield who said in substance that in the minds of most men the kingdom of opinion is divided into three territories—the territory of yes, the territory of no, and a broad unexplored middle ground of doubt. That middle ground in the mind of Senator GALLINGER was very narrow. Nearly all his territory was occupied by positive convictions. On most questions his mind was made up more completely than that of almost any man I have ever known.

On his eighty-first birthday he said in the Senate, in the course of some remarks appropriate to the occasion:

> I have had no controversy during the 27 years of my membership in the Senate with any Senator that lasted overnight.

This would explain why, although from first to last as I have stated, he was a strong party man, Senator GALLINGER had the warm friendship and even affection of men long associated with him in Congress who differed radically with him in political belief. As illustrating what I have just said, I want to quote a few words from some remarks made by Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, a prominent Democratic Senator, on the occasion of Senator GALLINGER's eighty-first birthday.

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Senator Williams said:

I have never known a sweeter person, a man who was more of a real man, honest, true, faithful, and brave in the entertainment and expression of opinion than the Senator from New Hampshire. When a partially reconstructed rebel can say that about a down-east Yankee, that ought to go pretty far.

I have served with him on committees, I have served with him in this body, and I have never yet seen the day, as far apart as he and I were and are politically, when a statement of his about a matter of fact did not carry with me absolute verity, not verisimilitude, as statements of that sort coming from Representatives and Senators generally do, but absolute verity. I would no more doubt his word, I would no more doubt his integrity, intellectual or moral, than I would doubt my own.

Mr. President, my temperament is such that I either love men or hate them; nobody is indifferent to me. I hate men when I hate them because I think they are untrue, I think they are insincere, I think that they camouflage; and I love men when I love them because I think they are true and do not camouflage and are not insincere. I love an open enemy who fights me to the hilt of the dagger very much more than I love a fellow with velvet gloves who seeks an aperture under my fifth rib without advising me beforehand that he is going to seek it. I think that Senator GALLINGER falls within the lines of the people whom I love and whom I have a right to love and do love because they are honest and because I try to be honest.

The accident of birth in another country precluded him from aspiration to the highest honors in the land of his adoption, but for several years he had been the acknowledged leader of his party in the Senate, where he had met the exacting duties of this high and responsible position with dignity, distinction, and to the general satisfaction of his associates in that body.

Although born in Canada and on his father's side of German parentage, never was there so much as a whisper of suspicion of his thoroughgoing and stalwart Americanism. Indeed, it was that spirit that seemed to give motive and inspiration to his whole public career. Always his argument for a protective tariff came back to the fundamental proposition that the American wage

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scale and American standards of living must at all hazards be maintained. It was the same in regard to the merchant marine. His whole being seemed to revolt at the idea of America remaining for another moment in a humiliating position of dependence upon foreign governments and foreign shipowners in our overseas trade. Although never a "jingo" in any sense of the word, he was not a pacifist as the term is now understood. He hated war, as I believe most right-minded men do, but that did not carry him to the extent of being willing to go to any length or pay any price in order to maintain peace. He stood for a policy of reasonable preparedness long before the European war broke out. It was in no spirit of enthusiasm, but rather with sorrow, because he saw no other honorable course, that he voted for the declaration of war with Germany. After the war came no man in either branch of Congress stood more stoutly than he for its vigorous prosecution to complete victory.

It was due in no small degree to his wise counsel and leadership that throughout the war his party in Congress gave loyal and whole-hearted support to the Government upon all war measures. Had he lived to see that glad November morning, when once again across the darkened skies shot the bright rays of coming peace, there would have been no man within the confines of this great Republic whose heart would have leaped with greater joy than his at the happy consummation.

There are many phases of his life and public service of which I would like to speak, especially of his zealous and painstaking efforts for the upbuilding, beautifying, and civic betterment of this Capital City, whose citizens of all classes had come to have for him a genuine and true affection; of his unflagging interest in and valuable service to the Union soldiers—veterans of the Civil War—with whom his name is a household word from one end of the land to the other; of his sincere belief in and strong

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advocacy of prohibition and equal suffrage in days when these causes were less popular and it took more courage to stand for them than now. But I will not say more. Most of these subjects have already been covered, and all, I am sure, will be covered by other speakers who have had the advantage of a more intimate association than I with Senator GALLINGER during the many years of his congressional career.

Reviewing his life and summing up his qualities, I know of no words that may more fittingly be applied to him than those he himself spoke on a similar occasion of his long-time friend, Hon. James S. Sherman, former Vice President of the United States:

> He was in the truest sense a patriot, loving his country and its institutions, and devoted to the happiness and welfare of all classes of its people. He was broad-minded and large-hearted, incapable of a meanness, and filled with sympathy and love for his fellows. Such a life surely did not end when death came. Rather let us believe that it was the beginning of a higher and better existence, and that the earthly activities of our friend were but the prelude to a life of greater beauty, of grander aspirations, and of nobler achievements.

It seems to me that the philosophy of Senator GALLINGER's life is nowhere better expressed than in the beautiful lines of Henry Van Dyke:

> Let me but live my life from year to year
> With forward face and unreluctant soul,
> Not hastening to, nor turning from, the goal;
> Not mourning for the things that disappear
> In the dim past, nor holding back in fear
> From what the future veils; but with a whole
> And happy heart, that pays its toll
> To Youth and Age, and travels on with cheer.
> So let the way wind up the hill or down,
> Though rough or smooth, the journey will be joy;
> Still seeking what I sought when but a boy,
> New friendship, high adventure, and a crown.
> I shall grow old, but never lose life's zest,
> Because the road's last turn will be the best.

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Address of Mr. Woods, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: In speaking to the resolution offered I feel that I voice the sentiment of the great liberty-loving people of the Central West in saying that they regret deeply the death of Senator Gallinger and are united in honoring his memory.

Senator Gallinger served well the people of his State. He did more, he served the people of every State in the Union. He founded that service on truth, righteousness, and a belief in equal treatment to all. His simple faith knew no distinction between the lofty and the lowly. He was the Republican leader of the Senate, not for New England only, but for the entire country as well. His counsel was keeping his party free alike from the snare of government by centralized autocratic bureaucracy and the delusion of anarchy, inspired by the belief that liberty and rights of citizens can be protected without government.

By training and experience Senator Gallinger was especially fitted to render impartial and unprejudiced public service. The 81 years he lived spanned the interval between a Nation staggering under the menace of disunion and a Nation mighty in the perfect unity and singleness of purpose which he helped to maintain.

During that interval he toiled to harmonize the discordant elements among the people of his country. He was not one of those who made patriotism an excuse for brutal excesses or arbitrary tyranny. Patriotism with him meant greater love of home, greater love of humanity, and the ultimate brotherhood of man. It is therefore peculiarly fitting that on this Sabbath Day we rest from our legislative work to do him honor.

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Senator GALLINGER stood apart from those who believe that government can do no wrong, and while in other countries that element has decreased in recent years in our own country their numbers have increased. They are dangerous in any country, and if predominant will destroy any form of government where the people rule. They may leave the shadow, but the substance of self-government—individual liberty and the rights of citizens—will be gradually lost.

The greatest public officials are true servants of the people, faithful to that ideal. They do not ride the wave of thoughtless popular approval, but steadfastly pursue that course which serves the permanent interests of all. Senator GALLINGER stood firmly for the inalienable sovereignty of the people and their inherent rights. He was conspicuous in abiding by the principle that government should exist for the sake of the people and not the people for the sake of the government, and that the holders of capital also should be wage earners and wage earners holders of capital.

Success crowned his public career, a success that is shared by every citizen of the United States, because it was founded on service for others. Believing that public office was merely a greater opportunity for larger service to the people, Senator GALLINGER was a leader to be loved and trusted. It is through the influence of such men that representative government, that liberty, that freedom of speech and press are maintained.

He believed that the producers of the world's wealth, not the spenders and manipulators of wealth, should direct the conduct of national affairs. He lived and worked to conserve and improve the political, economic, and social structure of the Nation. Always he opposed unbridled license, and with strength and patience fought to maintain the liberty of the people under the Constitution.

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His final resting place is in the hills of New Hampshire that he loved, and ever will be held in tender memory and respect not only by those who knew him as a neighbor and friend but also by a Nation which knows the impress of his strength of character, his magnanimity, his self-control, and his fidelity to high principle and duty throughout a lifelong public career.

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Address of Mr. Cannon, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: Two men have crossed over in the last few months who were truly great men—one from Illinois, John A. Sterling, the other from New Hampshire, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger; one a lawyer, the other a physician by profession; both of them school-teachers in early life; one well grounded in the legal profession, the other well grounded in the medical profession—who later on in life were selected on account of their ability and high character for services in the Congress. Senator Gallinger served in this House two terms, and then he served, I believe, continuously in the Senate of the United States until his death. Each one served his constituency well. They could not have served their respective constituencies well without serving all the people of the United States well. A Senator represents one State and a Representative serves one district, but when we come down to it, whether it be in the Senate or in the House, whether a man comes from far-away California, or way down East in Maine, or in New Hampshire, or from the central portion of the country, he votes for legislation that spreads over the whole country, and we are just as much interested from a practical standpoint in every one of the 435 districts, each of which sends a Representative to the House, or to any of the 96 Senators, as we are in those whom we select from our respective States and districts. I believe that through all these years that I have served in the House that on the average in the House and in the Senate the people who were chosen have represented the public sentiment of the respective States and districts first, and second, and on all fours with the public sentiment, have represented the whole people.

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And, everything considered, I believe the average representation in both House and Senate measures the average sentiment and intelligence of those who send them here. Sometimes there is complaint that there are too many lawyers in Congress. Well, there are a good many lawyers in Congress, but they are selected not because they are lawyers but because they have to do with voting for legislation. Some people say there are too many business men in Congress; that there are too many farmers, and so on. Now, the whole object of our Government is to enable us to live under laws which under our fixed law, the Constitution, will protect the weak and the strong. God forbid that it should ever be to the contrary. And it never will be to the contrary while our form of government lasts.

There are certain great characters in war and in peace—Presidents, Members of Congress, and the coordinate branch of the Government, the judiciary, that stand out in history and will continue to stand out in history. But, after all, it is the one hundred millions of people, plus now, that select the men who are to legislate and who are to fill the Executive chair and, in the end, under the Constitution, hold the judiciary positions. And those places will not be more worthily filled than by the majority sentiment, the common sentiment, of the people who give men their commission. George Washington, the Father of his Country; Alexander Hamilton; Thomas Jefferson; Patrick Henry; the Adamses, all dwell in history, but we would not have gotten far if it had not been for the Continental Army. We would not have had a Constitution if it had not been for the wise men who framed it and the people who ratified it. After all is said and done, men whose names are forgotten, great masses of men, the average population of the country, selected those great characters who performed the function that was

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cast upon them, and they did it well. I fancy if you would call the roll of the membership of the House of Representatives you would find that nine-tenths of them, under the hand of necessity early in life, learned to make their way by labor, physical and mental. I know the Illinois delegation pretty well. They are descendants, in the main, of pioneers—a great folk. From one ocean to the other we are still pioneering; we are crossing the continent; we are settling up the area of the United States in order that we can continue to take care of the great increase in population for a thousand years and live, if we are forced to do so, within ourselves. We have not been forced to do so, but we could.

Now, these two men, John Sterling, school-teacher, lawyer, and legislator, on the one hand, and Senator GALLINGER, having pretty much the same kind of training that Sterling had, were both strong factors. While Senator GALLINGER was not a lawyer, practically he was quite six while other men were half a dozen in framing legislation. They did not lack industry. The two men in many respects were alike. They or any of us, substantially, will not live as Webster will live in history or as Jefferson will live in history, but Webster and Jefferson and all of those people could not have succeeded so well if it had not been for their forbears that stood for them and by them. And so in speaking of the whole people we must consider them as being competent for self-government. There never was a man bright enough and strong enough to develop another's legs by walking for him, and there never will be. A child when he learns to walk can be instructed and aided, but he must do his own walking and his own growing.

John Sterling was my personal and political friend and I was his. I recollect the night before the election in

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the campaign of two years ago, when I closed it at Bloomington, in his district, at which there was a wonderful demonstration. That was the night before the election. They had been talking that there was a hot contest that promised to defeat Mr. Sterling. But he came out of it with a greatly increased majority not by virtue of what I said but by virtue of his ability, character, and service.

We only know about to-day. What of the future? I believe there is a future. I believe that each man, each human entity, finds its place amongst those like unto it. That is my faith. I am not a believer in people being cast in a fiery furnace that is a thousand times hotter than the one in which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were cast and being burned forever and ever. No; no. We all hope, and that is the strong evidence, for life hereafter.

Some time ago I had the pleasure of dining, on the invitation of Representative Porter, of Pittsburgh, with a great manufacturer and a great business man. There were present, if I recollect, 18 or 20 guests at his house here in Washington. The guest of honor was Mr. Brashears. That gentleman is the great lens maker of the world. He commenced life as a puddler, but in off hours he turned his attention to the stars. He married, but there were no children. As he studied the stars and began to make lenses his wife was his assistant. He made great progress in his art. He made the great lens for the Lick Observatory, and other great lenses have been made in his laboratory. We made him do most of the talking by asking him questions, first by one and then another.

I asked him, "How far can you see into space with the strongest lens that you have produced?" He said the strongest lens ever produced in the world was produced at Pittsburgh in his laboratory. I said, "How far does that lens reach into space?" "Ah," said he, "I am some-

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thing of a mathematician; we know the velocity of light; that lens can reach so far that if a sun in space were to be extinguished this minute the light that started from that sun would not reach the earth for fifteen hundred years. Space is but another word for something without boundary."

Then somebody asked him, "When was it that your wife died?" He answered, "Two years ago." Then somebody asked, "Where is she buried?" His answer was, "Beneath the laboratory. And there I shall be buried, and on my wife's memorial"—in substance I give the words. "We have searched the stars together, worked together, made lenses together; we have become familiar with space, so far as human eye by human invention and aid will allow; and that Power which made the universe and placed law upon it will care for us after this life."

So I have faith to believe that that Power will care for Senator GALLINGER, will care for John A. Sterling, will care for the loved ones that have crossed over. I do not know; perhaps I am not orthodox. We can not shape our future lives except as we come under general law, and the great First Cause that called matter into being was not only wise but omnipotent, which means just and merciful. It is a favorite thought with me with respect to my loved ones, when I think about them, who have been crossing over, it seems to me, every few years since I can remember, that I shall meet them there. Such is the universal desire. While the legislative record of our deceased colleague here, Mr. Sterling, and of the honored and able Senator GALLINGER is lodged in the official archives of the House and Senate, while we sympathize with the friends that survive, yet if we are welded by work, by wisdom, by fidelity, crossed on courage, I shall hope and be content if we can reach men in the great eternity like unto Senator GALLINGER and John A. Sterling.

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Mr. BURROUGHS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that several gentlemen wished to have an opportunity to speak to-day, but for some reason or another were unable to be here, I ask unanimous consent that they have leave to extend their remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Therefore, in accordance with the resolution heretofore adopted, the House (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, January 20, 1919, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *January 20, 1919.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate expresses its profound sorrow in the death of the Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, assembles to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

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DEATH OF SENATOR GALLINGER

[From the Manchester (N. H.) Union]

FRANKLIN, *August 18.*—United States Senator JACOB H. GALLINGER died at a hospital here at 1.30 o'clock Saturday morning.

When Senator GALLINGER returned from Washington to his summer home at Salisbury Heights, near here, in July, he was in poor health. A few days ago his condition become so much worse that, upon advice of his physician, he was brought to a hospital here.

Death was attributed to arteriosclerosis. He was 81 years of age.

At the Senator's bedside was Mrs. Ralph Gallinger, widow of Senator GALLINGER's only son, who was killed in an automobile accident a few years ago.

The Senator's summer home at Salisbury Heights commands a magnificent view of Kearsarge Mountain, and a few years ago Senator GALLINGER induced the United States Geographic Board to institute researches which resulted in its order settling a famous controversy and giving this peak exclusive right to its name and designating as Pequawket the Carroll County mountain which had for some years been called Kearsarge by many persons.

The funeral will be held at the First Baptist Church at Concord on Wednesday at 2 p. m. The body was removed to Concord to-day.

Senator GALLINGER is survived by his daughter, Mrs. Harry A. Norton, of Winchester, Mass.

Senator JACOB HAROLD GALLINGER was the oldest Member of the United States Senate both in years and in point of service. Ever since 1891 he had been a conspicuous figure in the Senate, taking not only a leading part in its discussions but ranking as a dominating figure in its leadership and in the counsels of the Republican Party. As minority leader the Senator had been active until quite recently, despite his advancing years.

Born on a farm at Cornwall, Ontario, 81 years ago, he crossed the border to the United States early in life. He was a printer first, then studied medicine and practiced as a physician and surgeon for 23 years. In 1872 he entered the New Hampshire House of

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Representatives, beginning political activities that continued to the end of his life. GALLINGER made the seconding speech for Benjamin Harrison for President in the Republican national convention of 1888, and frequently was a delegate to the national conventions. A military title he bore in the early days when he was surgeon general of the New Hampshire Guards—brigadier general—was forgotten during his Washington career, where he was proud of the title of "Doctor." He served in the House in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses.

During his continuous service of 27 years in the Senate he had been active on the committees dealing with finance, appropriations, rules, and government of the District of Columbia. He fought long for his ocean mail subsidy bill to build up the American merchant marine, and it passed the Senate only to fail in the House. He was the Republican nominee for President pro tempore of the Senate in 1911. Two months later, when his son, Ralph Gallinger, was killed in an automobile accident, he suffered so greatly from depression that his friends were anxious over his condition for a long time.

Always forceful in his public declarations, Mr. GALLINGER created a sensation by telling the Senate Lobby Committee in 1913 that President Wilson has come "perilously near lobbying" in connection with the tariff bill. He declared that during his 4 years in the House and 22 years in the Senate he had never encountered improper influences nor lobby methods and that he had "no interests outside of a little rock farm in New Hampshire," where he raised hay and apples.

The Senator made a long fight against confirmation of George S. Rublee, of New Hampshire, as a member of the Federal Trade Commission, which eventually resulted in Mr. Rublee leaving the board after serving without confirmation and on recess appointment.

During the war Senator GALLINGER had stood with the President on national defense matters. He had pending a resolution for a day of prayer for welfare of the American cause in the war.

Senator GALLINGER married, in 1860, Mary Anna Bailey, of Salisbury, who died in Washington in 1907.

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FUNERAL SERVICES

[From the Concord Evening Monitor, Aug. 22, 1918]

Federal, State, and city governments were represented in the large assemblage of personal, political, and business friends at the funeral of Senator JACOB H. GALLINGER, which was held from the First Baptist Church in this city this afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Long before the hour of the funeral the edifice was filled to overflowing and hundreds paid their respects to New Hampshire's venerable, beloved, and highly esteemed statesman, who for over a quarter of a century represented the Granite State in the United States Senate, by standing in the halls and outside of the church.

In glowing terms, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, for many years a close friend of the deceased, paid a tribute to his memory when at the service he pronounced the eulogy.

The service was very simple, even without vocal music, the several selections rendered by the organist completing the musical part of the service.

Rev. Walter Crane Myers, pastor of the church, officiated and was unassisted.

FROM NATION AND STATE

From early morning people in every walk of life had arrived from all parts of the State and Nation to pay their last respects to the deceased. It seemed to them, no doubt, a duty as well as a privilege to mourn for one who had striven so hard to lead his fellow men in the right direction.

At 11 o'clock this morning the body was taken from the homestead on North State Street to the State capitol, where it rested in Doric Hall until 1 o'clock to be viewed by the public.

No formality was connected with the removal of the body from the home, with the exception that a military guard, consisting of members of the local company of the State Guard, acted as an escort.

IN THE STATEHOUSE

In the statehouse Senator GALLINGER's body was allowed to lie in state immediately in front of the main entrance to the building, about two-thirds back in the hall.

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On the right side of the casket was the American emblem and New Hampshire's State flag was on the other.

Banked in the rear of the casket were two large pieces, one from the United States Senate, which consisted of a large wreath of Killarney roses, and another from the family.

State Guard members were on duty about the casket and at the entrances to the building while the body lay in state, this part of the program having been arranged by Adjt. Gen. Charles W. Howard and Capt. James J. Quinn.

G. A. R. VETERANS

Included among the many who visited the capitol when the body rested there were great numbers of Grand Army veterans, a class of men the late Senator befriended more, perhaps, than any other.

To facilitate the handling of the large crowd, arrangements had been made for people to enter the building through the main entrance, passing in front of the body and filing out through the south rear entrance, which had been kept closed until its opening to-day since the declaration of war.

As a mark of respect all the offices in the statehouse were closed while the body was in the building, and a tribute was also paid to the deceased by the business men of the city, who closed their establishments at 11 o'clock this morning.

There was no ceremony when the body was removed from the capitol, the doors being closed at 1 o'clock, and through the rear entrances to the building the body was taken to an awaiting hearse, in which it was borne under military escort to the church where the funeral services were held.

A large delegation of members from Company M of the State Guard were on duty at the statehouse, the detail being under the command of First Sergt. Henry McFarland. The military bearers were Sergt. Charles F. Thompson, Sergt. Edward H. Larkin, Sergt. Joseph G. Jones, Sergt. Warren L. Peckham, Sergt. Albert Schou, and Corpl. James H. Holland.

THE PALLBEARERS

It was not until after the funeral service that the body was turned over by the military guard to the civilian pallbearers, who were Clinton R. Thompson, Washington, D. C.; Edward M. Cogswell, Edward K. Woodworth, Arthur H. Britton, Concord;

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Thomas F. Clifford, Franklin; Dr. Charles Duncan, Concord; John G. M. Glessner, Bethlehem; Harry G. Emmons, Concord.

The honorary bearers were Hon. Henry W. Keyes, Haverhill; Hon. Fred W. Estabrook, Nashua; Hon. Frank N. Pearsons, Franklin; Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball, Concord; Hon. Walter M. Parker, Manchester; Col. Alfred F. Howard, Portsmouth; Dr. Charles R. Walker, Concord; Gen. John H. Brown, Concord; Hon. Clarence E. Carr, Andover; Gen. William F. Thayer, Concord; Col. James O. Lyford, Concord; Hon. William J. Ahern, Concord.

In the church the ushers were Hon. George H. Moses, Benjamin C. White, Harry H. Dudley, Josiah E. Fernald, Eben M. Willis, Eugene W. Leach, George A. S. Kimball, Concord.

The floral tributes were many and extremely beautiful, and included set pieces from prominent citizens and officials of the State and Nation, as well as from fraternal bodies with which the Senator was affiliated.

AT THE GRAVE

At the grave in Blossom Hill Cemetery there was a brief committal service, which was conducted by Rev. Dr. Myers. In the family lot where Senator GALLINGER was buried were also buried his wife and four sons.

The official delegation at the funeral was headed by Gov. Keyes and Charles W. Varney and William D. Swart, of Nashua, members of his council, and included nearly all of the State officials. Mayor Charles J. French headed the city delegation.

Representing Massachusetts at the funeral was State Treasurer Charles H. Burrill, who came as the personal representative of Gov. Samuel W. McCall.

The senatorial delegation had 18 members, but in the party which came to the city on special cars from Washington were as many more, giving Congress a large representation.

The arrangements for the funeral were made by Hon. Arthur P. Morrill, speaker of the house of representatives at the last session of the general court, and Hon. Benjamin W. Couch, both of whom are of this city, and who for many years have been in close touch with the Senator.

THE SENATORIAL DELEGATION

Among the United States Senators in attendance at the funeral were Senator Knute Nelson, of Minnesota; Senator Boies Penrose,

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of Pennsylvania; Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, of North Carolina; Senator Lee S. Overman, of North Carolina; Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah; Senator John Walter Smith, of Maryland; Senator Miles Poindexter, of Washington; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; Senator William P. Dillingham, of Vermont; Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas; Senator John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts; Senator Joseph I. France, of Maryland; Senator Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma.

The Congressmen here for the funeral included Thomas Gallagher, of Illinois; A. T. Treadway, Michael F. Phelan, and William Greene, of Massachusetts; Sherman E. Burroughs and Edward H. Wason, of New Hampshire; Porter H. Dale, of Vermont; and Charles B. Timberlake, of Colorado.

Accompanying the party to this city was ex-United States Senator Theodore Burton, of Ohio.

With the senatorial delegation were Sergeant at Arms Charles P. Higgins and Assistant Sergeant at Arms Carl A. Loeffler, of the Senate, and with the congressional delegation were Sergeant at Arms R. B. Goddard and Assistant Sergeant at Arms H. W. Ketron, of the House.

Among the well-known men here was Hon. Samuel E. Pingree, of Hartford, Vt., an ex-governor of that State and for many years a close friend of the late Senator William E. Chandler and Senator GALLINGER.

With the death of Senator GALLINGER, said David L. Jewell, of Wollaston, Mass., who was in the city to-day for the funeral, but two members of the staff of Gov. Head are now living, the other member being R. T. Cruft, of Bethlehem.

OUR DISTINGUISHED DEAD

[Editorial from the Concord Evening Monitor of Aug. 21, 1918]

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire, Gov. Keyes bestowed worthily a great honor when he offered Doric Hall in the capitol for the lying in state of the body of Senator GALLINGER. It was eminently fitting that one who had served the State so long and so well should receive under its official roof the last tribute from so many of his fellow citizens, admirers, and friends.

Memory recalls but one other instance of similar honor paid by and in this State. Almost 50 years ago, in 1869, the body of

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Franklin Pierce, the only President given by New Hampshire to the Nation, lay in state in Doric Hall prior to the funeral services in St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

All of the clergy participating in that service, all of the bearers, and all of the carriers are dead, Judge William M. Chase, the last survivor, having passed away within the year. But there are more than a few still living in Concord who were among the great number visiting the statehouse on that day to look for the last time upon the face of President Pierce. Their recollections agree as to the impressive solemnity of the occasion and the degree to which differences of opinion over the course of the dead statesman at the end of his career were forgotten in the face of death.

There was nothing to forgive or forget in the case of Senator GALLINGER. No one ever questioned his loyalty to, and love for, his city, State, and Nation. And to all who thought upon the matter it seemed very fitting that the building within which he entered public life almost half a century before should witness his final passing from the scene of his untiring industry and great achievements.

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TRIBUTES

[From the Concord Evening Monitor]

By President Wilson

A tribute to the memory of Senator Gallinger was paid by President Wilson in a telegram of condolence received on Saturday by Mrs. Jeanette K. Gallinger, which read:

"Please accept my warmest sympathy in your great loss. Senator Gallinger has rendered long and distinguished public service and his death will make a great difference in the public councils."

By Gov. Keyes, of New Hampshire

The history of the State of New Hampshire contains no record of public service longer or more distinguished than that of United States Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, whose death this morning brings to all of us a keen sense of personal grief and a full appreciation of the great loss which State and Nation have sustained by his decease.

In every fiber of his being, Senator Gallinger was loyal to his constituents and to his country. Throughout a period of official service almost without parallel for length and usefulness, he gave himself absolutely, with all his great ability, untiring industry, and vast experience, to promoting the public good through the machinery of State and National Government.

His record is an honor to himself and to New Hampshire and will be an inspiration to all who read the history of the times in which he was so prominent a figure.

By Gov. McCall, of Massachusetts

I have been acquainted with Senator Gallinger for many years. He was a sturdy, self-reliant, and able man. The Senator was an unflinching Republican. The passing so near to each other of Senator Gallinger and Senator Chandler, who long were colleagues, was a striking coincidence.

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SENATOR GALLINGER

[Editorial in the Concord Evening Monitor of Aug. 17, 1918]

New Hampshire and the Nation hear with equally deep sorrow and profound regret of the death of JACOB H. GALLINGER, dean of the United States Senate, devoted patriot, able statesman, and faithful and indefatigable public servant. He died, as he would have wished to die, in the harness, only a few weeks after his return from active participation and leadership in one of the most arduous and important sessions of Congress which his 30 years in Washington had witnessed.

His was a truly remarkable career, which will live in the history of his country and as well as of his State. Born in Canada in 1837, one of a large family on a small farm, he was of necessity self-supporting at the earliest possible age and, like another eminent statesman, Benjamin Franklin, he learned the printer's trade, and worked at the case for a few years. But ambition stirred within him and he determined to fit himself for a profession, that of medicine. The hard work which was his characteristic through life gave him his degree of doctor of medicine at 21, and he practiced the healing art until his true path in life was opened before him by his entrance into politics.

As a member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, constitutional convention, and State Senate, as a member of the National House of Representatives, and as United States Senator since March 4, 1891, he displayed a positive talent for public life, to which he added tremendous industry and a genuine desire to serve to the best of his ability his fellow men and the public good.

Senator GALLINGER was a sincere believer in the necessity of political party organization for carrying on our form of government. Of such organization he was a master, and as long-time chairman of the Republican State committee and member of the Republican national committee from New Hampshire he contributed very largely to the record of party success in State and Nation during the past 50 years.

But Senator GALLINGER was very far from being merely a politician, and his record at Washington for constructive statesmanship, high-minded leadership, and useful legislation is one of which his State has every reason to be proud. A stanch friend,

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a good citizen, a stalwart supporter of every worthy cause, the death of JACOB H. GALLINGER is a great loss and inspires genuine grief in a multitude of hearts.

"THE CHIEF"

[Editorial in the Concord Evening Monitor of Aug. 19, 1918]

Born in Canada and recording himself in his official biography as "of German ancestry," Senator JACOB H. GALLINGER was a real American.

The Republic, to which he came as an ambitious youth and whose opportunities for education and advancement he grasped so eagerly and made so much of, was more than a symbol to him; it was a living embodiment of all that which his ardent spirit had visualized; and to the end of his days he never ceased to hold the Union and its welfare as the chief concerns of his thought and devotion. His was a magnetic temperament and his quality of leadership was early demonstrated. As a youth at the printer's case, even while he battled for his professional training, he stood foremost among the group in which he found himself; and when he began the useful years which he spent as a physician this quality at once manifested itself and contributed not a little to his success.

It was altogether natural, therefore, that the larger field of public life should open to him spontaneously, so to say; and more than half of all his years and a far larger proportion of his mature life were claimed by a constituency which, beginning with his neighbors in his own ward in Concord, expanded through the State senatorial district in which he lived, through the congressional district which he served so well, through the State whose commission he bore so long and so worthily, and through the Nation, where, as much as any one man of his generation, he received the honors which attend great national leadership.

In addition to the naturally attractive qualities which centered attention upon his personality, he possessed an alert and a perceptive mind, and his great passion for industry enabled him to store his brain with an encyclopedic knowledge of history, of political precedent, of parliamentary practice, and of widely ranged facts of all useful kinds which made him at once the admiration and the despair of those who measured wits with him in debate or in conversation.

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He had a wonderful gift of expression, and when he drew upon his profound knowledge and wide experience and took the floor of the Senate or the platform of a political meeting he both captivated and convinced his hearers. The range of topics with which he dealt within the course of his public life, whether he spoke in running debate or in set speech or in formal address in other places than his seat in the Senate, demonstrated constantly not only his powers of oratory but the well-buttressed intellectual foundation upon which he built the structure of his great career.

But his intellect was never cold. A generous vein of humor always played through his mental processes; and he was moved by sentiment as are all men who for long succeed in winning and retaining a wide circle of stanch friends and loyal supporters. His nature was impulsive and affectionate, and when the full record of his life is scanned, whether now in the first shock of his taking away or in the reasoned perspective of the years that are to come, it will be found that equally with his great mind it was his noble heart that contributed most to his unexampled success.

And it is because of this quality that the mourning for him will be the more general and sincere. A little group of those who always stood about him and who turned to him for inspiration and guidance have, for many years, hailed him in terms of affectionate loyalty as "The Chief." And such in truth he was, not only to those who made use of the endearing title, but to those who, in New Hampshire or throughout the Nation, found themselves in company with him upon any occasion when men's minds and souls have been called upon for service.—G. H. M.

JACOB H. GALLINGER

[Editorial—The Manchester (N. H.) Union]

When JACOB H. GALLINGER was in the full vigor of his robust physical strength and was the uncompromising champion of a set of political ideas around which he had shaped his structure of political belief, we often differed, and took issue with him. To-day, in the presence of death, we hardly think of these things. At many points we did not agree. What of it? There was some central, guiding principle in this stalwart campaigner and Senator that enabled him to have and hold loyal political support and

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enduring personal friendship. That was the real man, whatever it was, and it is what we would recall in the hours of his passing.

Perhaps there will be difference of opinion on this matter. We speak from the point of view of a different political school than that of the Senator. And standing here, and looking back over the more recent years of controversy between men of ultra-conservative habits and those of liberal, progressive views, we think of Senator GALLINGER as an inflexible fighter for certain principles which he imbibed many years ago, and as a fighter using methods of "open warfare." One could almost always tell where Senatcr GALLINGER stood, and how he would vote. Not because he was stubbornly "set in his ways," but because his life was not one of caprice or emotion, but one of obedience to fixed political ideas pertaining to both the objects and methods of political action.

In this respect he differed in no wise from many other extreme conservatives, but he had a certain candor, which all do not possess, and which heightened the effect of his conservatism. He was utterly and avowedly uncompromising with reference to persons and ideas which threatened the traditional beliefs and processes. So it often occurred that while we differed with him we had respect for the qualities in him that kept him out in the open, a friend or a foe who could be depended upon as a friend or a foe.

It is worth noting, too; that this quality in Senator GALLINGER was appreciated and respected by men of other parties as well as by his fellow Republicans. He was a Republican of Republicans, but he held the esteem of Democrats, as was more than once evidenced in his long and active career in politics.

One thing in Senator GALLINGER's record we wish to recall. He was a stalwart protagonist of the idea of an American merchant marine. Always, in season and out of season, he championed the return of the United States to the seas. As we pointed out in these columns recently, had he been listened to the United States would not be transporting more than half its troops in British ships, as is being done at present. His interest in shipping never flagged. This was characteristic. What he believed he believed always, and he fought for it, openly and resolutely, win or lose, asking no odds, and utterly discouraging any help that might come to him were he to compromise with men of less conservative views.

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BY JAMES O. LYFORD

[From the Nashua Telegraph, reprinted in the Concord Evening Monitor, Aug. 23, 1918]

Senator GALLINGER made the supreme sacrifice for his country just as effectively as though his life had been given on the field of battle.

Duty stood ahead of any personal consideration. At the last session of Congress he arose from a sick bed at the risk of his life to record his vote on a war measure, and from that time until the day he returned from Washington to his home in New Hampshire he sacrificed personal comfort that he might be of service to his State and Nation. Ignoring the appeals of his fellow Senators, both Democrats and Republicans, that he seek needed rest, he remained at his post regardless of any risk to himself. He would not have had it otherwise, if he could have ordered the dispensation that closed his career, for his whole life was one of helpfulness to his fellow men.

It is not the time nor the place to pay appropriate tribute to the public service of Senator GALLINGER. Starting from the printer's case and climbing step by step to the highest official honors that could be conferred upon one not a native-born citizen is a record that can not be adequately treated in a newspaper article that speaks of the public and private loss that comes to New Hampshire and the Nation by reason of the death of Senator GALLINGER. Public men are frequently admired for their brilliant attainments and service, but it is rare that to this admiration is added a personal affection such as clung to the senior Senator from New Hampshire all through his distinguished career. The light and the cheer that as a physician he brought to the sick room were the attributes that made him lasting friendships in after life.

It was the privilege of the writer to become acquainted with Senator GALLINGER about the time that the latter was first elected to the New Hampshire Legislature of 1872, and to have served with him in the constitutional convention of 1876. From that time there began a friendship which continued uninterrupted to the day of his death. Also it was my pleasure to have been of some assistance to him in his efforts to attain the honors so well bestowed upon him by his State. In writing my thoughts of him to-day, I am but voicing the universal regard with which he was held by the people of New Hampshire.

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In a State like our own, which for so many years has been the scene of strenuous and oftentimes bitter contests and of so many conflicting ambitions, it would be natural that there should be grievous disappointments and unpleasant memories. For nearly half a century Senator GALLINGER was of necessity in the thick of the contest, yet when the smoke of battle rolled away there was not a citizen of the State who did not feel free to call upon Senator GALLINGER for service, and that service was freely rendered to anyone who sought his help. Political and partisan antagonisms were forgotten in the kindly greeting that always was given by him to supporter or opponent alike. He cherished no lasting resentments for deeds done in the heat of a political contest. If anything, he erred on the side of forgiving those who with malice did him injury.

There was no interest of the State too small not to receive his personal thought and consideration, nor was there any citizen so humble that his welfare and his request did not obtain the Senator's attention. From the time that he first entered public life he gave of himself for others with a cheerfulness that was rewarded by lasting friendships. The votes that were given him in repeated elections were not alone votes of confidence in his ability and fitness for the positions to which he aspired, but the votes of those who loved the man as they might love a brother.

When he was transferred to the national field of service, the qualities that endeared him to his fellow citizens of New Hampshire won him the affections of his fellow Senators. Here, as at home, he secured the honors that came to him by his industry. Senator GALLINGER constantly grew in usefulness and strength as a public man, and he finally became the dean and leader of the Senate. He did not attain this leadership by any one brilliant achievement but by an evolution of himself, an ever ripening of intellectual faculties. He continually broadened in the public service. This is the universal testimony of his colleagues of the Senate. This development caused neither envy nor jealousy among his associates, because his advice always came in the form of kindly and modest suggestion, while he was ever considerate of the opinions of others. As a parliamentarian and as a debater Senator GALLINGER was the peer of all his fellow Senators. Yet it was the confidence and affection that he inspired that contributed most to his leadership in that body.

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Senators of long service are apt to grow away from the people and to become impatient in their large duties and responsibilities of the small requests of their constituents. This was never true of Senator GALLINGER. Often while seated at his desk watching the parliamentary procedure on some important question before the Senate, he wrote letters with his own hand to people in New Hampshire, letters in reply to appeals for assistance, letters of inquiry for their welfare, letters of sympathy for their afflictions, and letters of congratulation over their success. There are people of the State who have such letters written during the past months, when he struggled to forget his physical suffering in his efforts to brighten and cheer the daily life of his friends and fellow men.

Senator GALLINGER achieved his exalted station in life by persistent labor and by constant growth in the service he could perform. At no time in his long career had he shown more capacity for public work than since his last reelection to the Senate. His associates and friends could see that responsibilities were telling on his wonderful physique. Their warnings were in vain. He had been forced against his inclination to seek a sixth term in the Senate, and with his reelection came the feelings always with him that all he had in strength and attainments should be given in return for the continued mark of confidence of his fellow citizens.

The loss to the State and to the Nation in Senator GALLINGER's death is great; but the larger loss comes to the thousands of people throughout the country who have been individually benefited by his service and helpfulness and who have known his friendship and affection. Blended with the public sorrow is the personal grief for one whose whole life was a benediction of kindly deeds. To have secured and retained such a breadth of friendship, such a warmth of affection, during an active public career of nearly 50 years, with its storms and trials, is, indeed, a greater achievement than to have reached, as Senator GALLINGER did, the highest honors that his fellow citizens could bestow upon him.

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BY CONVERSE J. SMITH

[From the Concord Evening Monitor of Sept. 3, 1918]

The death of Senator GALLINGER brings genuine sorrow to the Nation, New Hampshire, Concord, and to many of us a great personal loss. So well expressed by President Wilson in his telegram of condolence, "the loss can not be estimated."

By his long service and commanding ability he had become a national Senator, and not simply a Senator from New Hampshire, and those who have been furnished the Congressional Record must have observed the great number of petitions and requests that came to him from every State in the Union.

With his great influence he possessed a big heart, ever willing to work for a deserving cause.

It is difficult to realize that slavery still exists in America, not that the auction block is in actual use as in the days prior to the Civil War, but human beings are still bought and sold for money consideration, notably Chinese women and girls, the governing price being from $2,000 to $3,000 each.

The number of Chinese women in this country is comparatively small and desperate are the efforts made by the Chinese to land women and especially girls in the United States.

Underground methods, dishonest practices, and attempts at bribery are some of the ways taken to evade the law.

All the great religious denominations maintain Chinese missions in San Francisco, where slave women and girls are cared for after being rescued.

A few years ago two Chinese girls, Ah Ching and Ying Yute, were brought from China to Seattle, a Chinaman appearing and claiming under oath that they were his daughters. As such they had a right to land and they were admitted. Subsequently the alleged father sold the girls into slavery in California, and they were rescued by Miss Donaldina M. Cameron, superintendent of the Chinese mission of the Presbyterian Church, San Francisco.

The Chinaman who had sworn falsely was arrested, given trial in the United States Court, and served a term in prison.

The two girls, after their entrance into the home, made progress rapidly in education and otherwise, and they soon found their way to the hearts of the officers, the attendants, and rescued slave girls.

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Then it was that accidentally the writer met Miss Cameron in the Bank of California and her appearance gave the impression of illness, and on inquiry she stated she was dreadfully worried and did I have time to listen to the story.

She then told me of Ah Ching and Ying Yute, how she had rescued them, how dear they were to her and others, of their progress since arrival from pagan China, that the Immigration Bureau believed they were illegally in this country, or technically so, and planned their deportation. That their return to China would be a life worse than death. "Oh!" she exclaimed, "can not you save these girls? We have exhausted every effort."

It was then the magnificent personality of Senator GALLINGER loomed up before me.

A statement legally drawn was prepared, properly signed by the officials of the Presbyterian Board, and forwarded to Senator GALLINGER, with such additional information as was obtainable, with the request that the same be presented to the President for his action.

In less than one week authority was flashed across the continent for the final landing of the two girls with Miss Cameron as guardian.

There was jubilation in that mission home that night among the officers and 100 rescued slave girls, and many prayers went up to heaven for the President of the United States and for Senator GALLINGER.

Later on Ying Yute was married to a Christian Chinese merchant of New Orleans, and at the wedding an elaborate breakfast was served. Occupying a seat next to the bride, conversation being in English, she again asked me to convey her greetings to Senator GALLINGER and her appreciation for the saving of her life.

Ah Ching is still a member of the mission home, a real assistant, a dear sweet girl, loved by all.

A small matter, some may say, to bring to the attention of United States Senator GALLINGER. Yes, if a comparison is drawn between his great work in the fields of diplomacy, finance, commerce, statesmanship, but the actual saving of two lives, their work in the missions, is so far-reaching who can estimate results?

The noble work of Senator GALLINGER in the case cited probably made no great impression on himself. It was a duty per-

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formed. So it was only an incident. It was of yesterday. Not to-day with new requests, new duties for to-morrow.

The President of the United States, United States Senators without regard to party alignment, Members of the House of Representatives and diplomats, the press of the country, pay tribute to the great work of Senator GALLINGER, and very properly.

Then there are thousands of people in the more humble walks who loved him in life and will never cease to do honor to his memory.

Ah Ching and Ying Yute, rescued slave girls, to-day educated young women, never will cease thanking God for the splendid service in their behalf, all credit being given to Senator GALLINGER for saving them from a life of misery and degradation in China.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session | SENATE | DOCUMENT No. 455

OLLIE M. JAMES

(Late a Senator from Kentucky)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
February 2, 1919

Proceedings in the House
February 23, 1919

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1920

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HON. OLLIE M. JAMES

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DEATH OF HON. OLLIE M. JAMES

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

WEDNESDAY, *August 28, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in the pursuit of the ideals upon which we have founded a Government and in following the lines of life laid down for us by our fathers we have been called to make a complete surrender of ourselves, of our interests, of our powers in furtherance of our great spiritual democracy. We pray that Thy blessing may be upon us as we enter more and more into a world conflict. As we lay our fortunes, as we send our boys, as we give our lives to the interests of humanity do Thou, O God of us all, smile upon us, give us success, and bring us to speedy victory.

Again and again we are called upon to mourn the loss of one of our leaders and master spirits. To-day the news reaches us of the death of the senior Senator from Kentucky. This great man so lately stood among us in strength and glory of young manhood, endowed with splendid qualities of leadership, strong in his friendships, loyal to the country, and devoted to the highest ideals of our national life. In Thy providence his spirit has been called back to God who gave it.

We thank Thee for all the service he rendered to our Government and for the devotion which he manifested in the well-being of humanity. Let Thy mercy be with those who constitute the inner circle of his family and friends, and enable us to perpetuate in our lives all that was best in his.

For Christ's sake. Amen.

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Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce to the Senate the death of my distinguished colleague, Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, which occurred at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore this morning about 6.30, and while it has not been unexpected for some time it comes as a great shock to all of us and to all who knew him. I am sure, Mr. President, that in my State there is universal and profound sorrow, and I feel equally sure that here in this body among the Members who have associated with him for nearly six years there is also the deepest sorrow. We shall miss his genial, generous character, and among all of the losses which our body has sustained in the present Congress none, I am sure, will be felt more than that of Senator JAMES.

It is unfortunate, Mr. President, it seems to us, that we can not understand the Divine purpose when a young man of his age, in the very prime of his manhood, and at a time when his splendid abilities and services were most useful to his State and to the Nation, should be taken away.

But it is not now the time to pay full and proper tribute to his character and life. Upon another occasion later on those of us who knew him so well, who loved and admired him, will have the opportunity of doing so.

I send to the desk, Mr. President, resolutions which I ask may be read and adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 294) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky.

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Resolved, That a committee of 15 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. JAMES, to be held in the city of Marion, Ky.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Under the second resolution the President pro tempore appointed Mr. Beckham, Mr. Simmons, Mr. Williams, Mr. Smith of Arizona, Mr. Pomerene, Mr. Pittman, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Kendrick, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Borah, Mr. Weeks, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Fall, Mr. Curtis, and Mr. Harding as the committee on the part of the Senate.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, this was the day which had been agreed to by the Senate for holding memorial exercises in respect to the memory of the late Senator from Nevada, Francis G. Newlands. I, as does every Member of the Senate, concur in the sentiments expressed by the Senator from Kentucky relative to our beloved friend, and, of course, in the circumstances it is fit and proper that this body shall adjourn in accordance with custom, and I have been informed by the Senator from Kentucky that he is about to make such a motion. I know that the action proposed by the Senator from Kentucky will meet with the entire approval of the family of the late Senator and that this custom of the Senate is thoroughly understood. But before action is taken upon that motion, out of respect to the late Senator JAMES, I give notice that on Monday morning, immediately after the Senate convenes, the memorial exercises in respect to the memory of the late Senator Francis Griffith Newlands will be held by unanimous consent.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of Senator JAMES I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

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The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 29, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

THURSDAY, *August 29, 1918.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the death of Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky.

THURSDAY, *January 2, 1919.*

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate shall convene on Sunday, February 9, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of my late colleague, Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WEDNESDAY, *January 15, 1919.*

Mr. REED. I ask unanimous consent to have an order made by the Senate at this time to fix a date for memorial addresses on the late Senator William J. Stone.

The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That the Senate convene on Sunday, February 2, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public service of the late Senator William Joel Stone.

Mr. BECKHAM. On January 2 an order was entered fixing February 9 as the date for memorial addresses on the late Senator JAMES. Owing to conflict in dates, I ask that the order be changed to February 2 instead of February 9.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Chair hears none.

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SUNDAY, *February 2, 1919.*

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions, which I ask may be read, and I move their adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. King in the chair). The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 434) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Kentucky.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Beckham, of Kentucky

Mr. President: It is a sad and solemn occasion whenever we are gathered here to pay tributes of respect and regard to the memory of one of our departed comrades in the membership of this body.

In the strenuous and feverish times of the last few years, engaged as we have been in the most arduous and important work, and going out of one session of Congress into another without rest or relaxation, we have frequently, far too frequently it seems to us, been reminded of how slight is our hold upon this life, and have been called upon to pause in our work and contemplate in grief and sorrow the earthly separation from us of one of our coworkers in the Senate. Death, which has been in these recent years more unsparing and rapacious than ever before throughout the world, has not overlooked the Members of the Senate in its world-wide harvest, and we have severely felt its heavy hand many times upon some of our most useful and conspicuous associates here.

Since I entered the Senate, Mr. President, a little over three years ago, of the 96 Members at that time 15 have passed away, and I have no doubt that this unusual and excessive mortality is in a large measure due to the extraordinary and tremendous amount of work that has fallen upon the Members of Congress in these troublous and eventful years of sorrow and death.

When I came here in December, 1915, my late colleague from Kentucky, Ollie M. James, who had been a Member of the Senate since March 4, 1913, was one of the most striking and popular figures in Congress. Of giant physique, big of body as well as of mind, in the very flush

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and prime of a useful and distinguished life, full of zeal and enthusiasm in the public service, for which he was so well equipped, he seemed to be the very picture of vigorous and robust health; and one who saw him in those days could well believe that the ravages of time and old age alone could conquer such a specimen of manhood, and that there stretched before his ambitious and patriotic vision the promise of many more years of valuable service to his country. His strength and vitality seemed to be irrepressible; he loved life and his fellow men with boyish enthusiasm; and it never occurred to one who saw him then that the scythe of the great reaper could be so near him.

But, alas, Mr. President, death is still, as it ever has been, cruel and remorseless in the victims it selects. It still loves a shining mark. It spares neither the young nor the old, the weak nor the strong; it strikes down without concern either the exalted or the lowly. The door of the greatest deliberative and most dignified body on earth can not any more bar its entrance than can the door of the humblest cottage in the land. And now we find that our friend, in the flower of his manhood, like a strong young oak in the forest singled out by the fierce storm in its destructive course, laid low in his earthly career; and we are assembled here to-day as his colleagues to render to his memory in some degree the testimonials of our respect, our admiration, and our affection for his many generous and noble qualities of heart and mind.

As one who knew him intimately and well almost since his boyhood days, I feel that it is impossible to express in the necessarily limited time of this occasion all that might be said of him and of his remarkably successful and brilliant career in the public affairs of his State and of his country. However, I may be permitted to give briefly some of the leading and important events in his biography.

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OLLIE M. JAMES was born in Crittenden County, Ky., July 27, 1871. His father, Judge L. H. James, a leading lawyer and a highly respected citizen of that county, still lives at a venerable and honorable old age, and bears in his heart with Christian fortitude and patience the deep sorrow of the untimely end of his distinguished son, in whose remarkable and creditable success he took so much pardonable pride and joy. Senator JAMES's good mother, to whom he was so devoted, preceded him to the grave less than a year, and was spared the grief which came to the surviving members of his family when he joined her on the other side.

He was educated in the public schools of his county, and, although he was never a profound student, he early manifested that quickness of intellect and breadth of mind which made up to a large extent what he lacked in the opportunities of collegiate training and higher education. In 1887 he was a page in the Kentucky House of Representatives, and it was there that he probably acquired that intense interest in political questions which was the guiding factor in his life afterwards.

He studied law with his father and was admitted to the bar in 1891. Although his practice of the profession was frequently interrupted by his activity in campaigns and his participation in political affairs, he demonstrated a broad and keen comprehension of the fundamental principles of the law, and with his natural gift and love of oratory he became a most effective and successful advocate before juries.

In 1896 he was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in Chicago, and became an ardent and eloquent champion of the nominee of that convention, Hon. W. J. Bryan, and of the principles for which he stood. In 1904 and each succeeding four years thereafter he was a delegate from the State at large to the Democratic

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national conventions, where he always attracted considerable attention, and at the convention in Baltimore in 1912 and the one in St. Louis in 1916 he was selected as permanent chairman. He therefore enjoyed the distinction of presiding over the two conventions that nominated Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency; and it is well known with what a high degree of confidence and esteem he was held by President Wilson. His relations with the White House were so close and cordial that he was often regarded as a spokesman of the President, and he never faltered in his loyalty to him nor to the policies for which the President stood.

His ambition as a boy and as a young man was always directed to a seat in Congress. He never sought nor held any other office, and in 1902 he was elected to Congress from his district, beginning his service in the Fifty-eighth Congress March 4, 1903. He served in the House with credit and distinction for 10 years, leaving it March 4, 1913, to enter the Senate, to which he had been elected by the General Assembly of Kentucky. His term, therefore, will expire on next March 4. But less than a month before his death last summer he had been renominated in the State Democratic primary, and had he lived would undoubtedly have been reelected in the November election for another term.

Senator JAMES was one of the most popular and vigorous speakers of his day. He possessed natural talents as an orator. His striking appearance, his splendid voice, and his great skill in clothing his ideas in forceful words and sentences gave him a wonderful hold upon his audiences; and in the later years of his life no political speaker in the country had more demands upon his time for speaking appointments than he had. Upon the stump, the platform, in convention halls, and upon the floors of Congress he always commanded the most attentive hear-

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ing. He was never tiresome and always exhibited the happy and rare faculty of knowing when to quit. He had an instinctive knowledge of the psychology of audiences. He seemed to know when to speak, what to say, and the proper time to close.

I recall in a national convention some years ago where he demonstrated this unusual power over an assemblage. The convention had been in session nearly a week. Upon this occasion it was very late in the night and the convention was impatient in its long waiting for the report of the committee on resolutions. The delegates and the many thousands of visitors were exceedingly weary and restless. Many speakers, some of them of first-class oratorical attainments and reputations, made numerous and futile efforts to entertain them; but the tired crowd would not hear the speakers and with jocular and good-natured interruptions drove them from the platform. Finally OLLIE JAMES was induced to try. It was a dangerous experiment for a speaker with a crowd in such a humor. But as soon as he stood upon the platform before them they became at once quiet and attentive. His massive form, the stirring tones of his great voice, and his well-rounded sentences soon captured the audience and they listened and cheered him repeatedly. He made an appropriate speech for the occasion and did not sacrifice his triumph by speaking too long.

He was very skillful and successful in joint debates, and even in early days before he came to Congress he dared sometimes to challenge and meet in debate some of the veterans of the hustings and frequently bore off the honors of the encounters. He proved himself a ready and forceful debater in Congress, and in party controversies he was always regarded by his party associates as one of their most effective pieces of artillery.

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He was a Democrat of the strict and regular school, believing with profound faith in the principles of his party; and although he was a partisan he always fought fairly and chivalrously and was esteemed and admired by his Republican associates as well as by his Democratic friends. He was absolutely loyal to the principles in which he believed and never failed in his championship of them. His ideas and views upon public questions were essentially democratic, and all his sympathies were entirely with the masses of the people, and throughout his public career he never failed in his support of those measures which he believed would bring the greatest good to the largest number of the people.

In his five years' service here in the Senate he won many friends, and the sincerity and fearlessness of his views were recognized by all. He rarely spoke on the floor of the Senate, but when he did he was sure of the most respectful and considerate attention. His last speech in the Senate was made just about one year ago, and it was a strong and ringing defense of the war policies of the administration. He had about reached the zenith of his power and manhood. He was still a young man, with a future before him full of hope and promise. He sought to serve his constituents to the fullest extent, and I believe, Mr. President, that his earnest efforts to serve his people in the great multitude of demands made upon his time and energies under war conditions had much to do with the breaking down of his health. Senators are familiar with the vast increase of work upon us since our country entered the war, and how difficult, if not impossible, it has been to meet every request or demand upon our time. The burden has been very heavy, and my late colleague in his conscientious efforts to meet his part of it, even with his strong constitution, sacrificed his health and his life.

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Not only in his public life was he successful but also in his private life, and in his home he was most contented and happy. Married in 1903 to Miss Ruth Thomas, of Kentucky, a most lovely and admirable young lady, he had enshrined her as the idol of his heart and had gallantly laid at her feet the triumphs and victories which he had achieved. In the sorrow and bereavement which have come upon her the hearts of all who knew this happy couple have been deeply touched. With so much to live for, it is difficult for us, with our limited and finite knowledge, to understand the ways of Providence in striking him down at such a time.

When he last spoke in the Senate, on the occasion to which I have referred, he acquitted himself well and ably, but those who sat near him could see that the stalwart frame was not what it had been and that serious illness was upon him. After that day he was never able again to take part in the work of the Senate. He was soon confined to his bed, and all that medical science and the tender ministrations of his devoted wife and of friends could do was done to relieve and restore him. He lingered for some months, bearing his sufferings patiently and heroically, until at last on August 28, 1918, in the hospital at Baltimore, he breathed his last and gave up his spirit to his God.

He was only 47 years of age, but in that brief span he had made a name for himself, a name associated with an honorable and brilliant public service, and a name cherished and loved by the people of his native State and by many thousands of others who had come to know and admire him. Kentucky, Mr. President, was proud of OLLIE JAMES, and in the years to come our people will continue to honor his memory and to count him among that bright galaxy of statesmen that our State has given to the Na-

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tion. They will always remember him as a brave and eloquent leader, as a faithful and conscientious public servant, and as a man who never failed through fear or favor to do what he considered his duty. To his sorrow-stricken widow and to the other members of his good family who have been so grievously afflicted we shall always bear the deepest and most heartfelt sympathy.

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Mr. PRESIDENT: Certainly not within recent years, if ever, has the Senate met to pay its tribute of respect to the memory of two such distinguished men as Senator Stone and Senator JAMES. When I listened a few moments ago to the eloquent and just tribute which the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Reed] paid to his late colleague I could not help thinking how justly practically everything he said would apply to that other great Democrat in whose memory we have met. I am gratified to have the opportunity to say a brief word relating to his service, for I am proud to think that I was included among his personal friends.

Senator JAMES entered the House of Representatives at the beginning of the Fifty-eighth Congress, one term before I became a Member of that body, and thereafter until his death we served together continuously in the House and later in the Senate, so that I came to know him and his policies very well. He was one of the most consistent party men I have ever known, a fact I mention because it is not altogether usual in modern times and is one which has my general approval. A government conducted by two great political parties, in my opinion, has a more stable structure and produces more beneficial results to its citizens than any other method which may be followed. A failure to govern by parties in the final analysis means personal government, which may be good or bad; but it is quite certain to lack regularity and stability. Good government or good business can only result by following a well-defined policy. An illustration of Senator JAMES's views on this question and his recognition of it happened in a conversation he had with me shortly after we became Members of the Senate. He approached me with a propo-

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sition that we pair on all matters of legislation. I assented, and then asked him why he had made that proposal to me. His reply, I think, was characteristic. He replied:

> You are a consistent Republican on party measures and I am a consistent Democrat. Therefore it is a fair arrangement.

Of all the men I have known in Congress I can not think of one who had a more dominating personality. His record as a party man in the councils of his party clearly justifies this statement. Kentucky has been represented by a large number of men of national importance, many gifted orators, and, considering its population, has had an almost unequaled number of men prominent in national politics. This fact makes it all the more remarkable that Senator JAMES was the chairman of his State delegation at a national convention when he was but 25 years of age, and from that time—1896—to the last national convention of the Democratic Party no man in his party occupied a more prominent or influential position than did he.

I never had the pleasure of hearing him in a political campaign, but the testimony from his State is universal—and that might be extended to include the entire country—that no man in his day—and this is extreme praise when you think of the gifted men who have been active in Kentucky during the last 25 years—exerted a larger influence on the stump than he. His very presence was one of authority and dominating influence. Not only was this true in his State and in national party councils but it was true in the Senate. His ability was recognized on both sides of the Chamber. Although very partisan in his activities, he never failed to be fair in his relations with his political opponents. Indeed, he may be described as a square man in his dealings with friend and foe alike. He struck hard, but never below the belt.

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His passing at the early age of 47 has removed from the stage of national affairs a man who would have been a leading figure in this country in some capacity for a generation. If my information is correct, he was impregnable in his political position in Kentucky; and his return to the Senate—in fact, his continued returns—would have added more and more to his influence and importance as a political leader.

The country can ill afford to spare any man who has aptitude for public service, well-defined conviction, and a courage to stand by them. It would much better have among its public servants men who are wrong in many of their conclusions than to have in their place time-servers who base their actions on passing whims and whose main purpose is to maintain and augment their own political importance.

I assume from its past history that Kentucky will continue to be brilliantly represented in the Senate, but I am confident that it will be many days before that State will send to Washington a man who will exert a more important influence than did Senator JAMES or a man who will be more jealous of the interests of the people of his State. To secure his interest and his effective aid it was only necessary to be a resident of Kentucky or even to have been by birth a Kentuckian. This undoubtedly was a characteristic which had much to do with the strong hold he had and maintained over the people of his State.

I pay Senator JAMES this brief tribute with great pleasure, and notwithstanding the fact that we were antagonistic in our views on many important public questions I most sincerely regret that the career of this remarkable man has ended.

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Address of Mr. Robinson, of Arkansas

Mr. President: Formerly the membership of the Senate was composed largely of elderly men. During recent years that rule seems to have been modified and many comparatively young men have entered this body. Notwithstanding this fact, the death rate among Senators appears to be increasing.

Since March 4, 1913, if my memory is accurate, 25 Senators and ex-Senators have died, 9 of them having returned to private life.

The roll of Senators who have died within this period of less than six years is not confined to the feeble and the aged; it embraces also many who have been stricken in the prime and vigor of manhood. The high death rate among Senators may be accounted for in part by the fact that many have entered the Senate at advanced ages and after arduous labors elsewhere have reduced their vitality. This does not account for the increasing mortality in our membership. Congressional duties have multiplied in number and increased in importance during the last decade. The outbreak of the war and its progress brought many new problems of vital importance to the Nation and to the world, and also created new labors of a quasi official nature sufficient in number to overwhelm the most vigorous Congressman. The physical and mental strain incident to labors in Congress during the war now closing accounts for the loss of some of our ablest and most influential Members.

The Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Gallinger, passed away at the ripe age of 81 years, retaining his mental vigor and comprehensive grasp of public questions until the end.

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Senator Stone died at an advanced age after long public service. Senator JAMES died in the prime of life, at the high noon of his usefulness and influence. Prolonged service in the House of Representatives familiarized him with the details of national legislative procedure and afforded him with accurate knowledge of the many difficult problems connected with the progress of our country. When Senator JAMES began his career in this Chamber he enjoyed, in addition to this knowledge of legislative problems and procedure, an intimate friendship with many Members in both Houses of Congress which contributed to his influence here.

It may be said that some of the most striking characteristics of his public service are epitomized in the phrases "Party loyalty" and "Responsiveness to the will of the people."

Senator JAMES was a partisan; passionately, but not blindly, attached to the Democratic Party. His partisanship was frank and aggressive. He was recognized throughout the Nation during the present administration as a powerful factor in its councils.

He believed that virile political organizations are indispensable to the proper administration of government under our Constitution. He supported the platforms and nominees of his political party with unhesitating fidelity. During 15 years of intimate association with him in the House of Representatives and in the Senate I never knew him to expressly or impliedly repudiate a platform declaration to which he was committed or to fail to champion, when occasion arose, the administration or organization with which he was allied. Senators present will recall his eloquence and impetuosity in debate. His striking personality, forceful manners, and fluency of speech gave him a degree of power on the platform equal to that of any speaker who has appeared

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during this generation. He was, perhaps, with the exception of Mr. Bryan and the late former President Roosevelt, the most popular campaign orator of his day.

Notwithstanding the marked attachment which Mr. JAMES always manifested to the Democratic Party, his attitude on public questions was marked by a responsiveness to the will of the people rarely evinced by men in public life. He was not ashamed to avow his readiness to effectuate the public desire in legislation. He believed that the people are the source of all political power under our form of government and that they can be safely trusted to govern. In political debates, both here and when speaking from the stump, he frequently appealed to public opinion as the supreme political tribunal. This practice was not the outgrowth of demagogy or of political cowardice. It was the natural development of an abiding faith in the integrity and intelligence of the people.

In spite of partisan views and utterances, Senator JAMES enjoyed many intimate friendships—friendships of the enduring kind, not to be accounted for by the simple rules alleged to govern human relationship but having their origin and growth in the indefinable but nevertheless powerful laws of human nature. One of the most valuable compensations of service in Congress is the associations Members enjoy with one another and the lasting friendships thus formed. Neither politics, religion, nor similarity of habits form a standard by which our friendships are established or maintained. This fact, unimportant as it may appear when first suggested, is of tremendous importance in giving elasticity to our social and political institutions. It enables us to witness the passing of political control from one party to another with calm assurance that the fundamentals underlying our civilization will be preserved and safeguarded, because we know

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that the patriotic purposes of American citizenship are not monopolized by any one political party.

Mr. President, it is a pathetic fact that we are so busy here with present and prospective duties that when a Senator dies his prominence is quickly forgotten, indeed rarely recalled.

When a leader in the Senate falls another advances almost unnoticed to take his place. Our proneness to forget Members who have passed beyond is due in no part to lack of appreciation for their virtues. It is occasioned by the responsibilities of public duty—constantly changing; always pressing.

The memory of OLLIE JAMES will be perpetuated here, where he toiled so effectively for the preservation of the people's liberties. He will not be forgotten. The Nation will remember him for his unhesitating loyalty when it summoned American manhood to the defense of civilization.

Kentucky will gratefully preserve his name and fame. Kentuckians honored him while he lived—honored and loved him. They love his memory. That love is as tender as the starlight of a Kentucky night, yet as warm as the sunlight of a summer day upon Kentucky fields and hills.

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Address of Mr. Kenyon, of Iowa

Mr. President: Out of the affection which I bore for Ollie James I could pay tribute at considerable length to his splendid qualities as a man, as a citizen, and as a legislator, but the hour is growing late, and I shall abbreviate considerably the remarks I had intended to make upon this occasion.

Taking the oath of office by a Senator is always an interesting event. I can well remember—it seems but a few weeks ago, though, in fact, it was nearly six years—a powerful physical giant coming down the center aisle, standing at the Vice President's desk, and taking the oath as the new Senator from the State of Kentucky.

I had known of him and of his career, but had no personal acquaintance. He impressed me at that time as a thoughtful, earnest, determined, courageous man, and a fine specimen of American manhood. I came to know him well and intimately during his term, and the impression made on that day became more fixed.

While we differed in our adherence to political parties, I have seldom found myself out of harmony with his views on any question that related to the average everyday folks, and the news of his death brought to me the shock of a great personal bereavement. Such a man, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Weeks] has said, the country could ill afford to lose, especially in these troublesome times.

Kentucky has given many eminent men to the Nation. It has been a land where oratory has flourished. The intense struggles of the Civil War produced in its subsequent history a rugged kind of character; a self-confidence and determination to stand for the right; a noble type of

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honor and chivalry. A wonderful history is that of Kentucky, not only subsequent to but before the Civil War.

From a log cabin of Kentucky came the greatest of all Americans, Abraham Lincoln; likewise from that State came the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. To-day there presides over the House of Representatives one of the most brilliant sons of the Nation, proud of old Kentucky as his birthplace, Champ Clark. Henry Clay was a son of Kentucky, and likewise our departed and beloved OLLIE JAMES.

He had a liking and an aptitude for politics. Starting as a page in the Legislature of Kentucky, his rise was rapid, until at last his ambition for a seat in this body was gratified; and who can tell, had he lived, but that higher honors would have awaited him? Certainly he would have been one of the most prominent candidates for President before the next Democratic national convention.

Probably no more interesting event ever occurred in his life than the reception given him by his home folks after his election in 1912; for, after all, it is the opinion of the folks at home, who know a man in his everyday life, who see him as he walks among them and communes with them that really counts.

It is not always true that the prophet is not without honor save in his own country and among his own people. At least, if that may be true of prophets, it is not true of men with red corpuscles in their veins. It was not true of OLLIE JAMES. I have copies of some telegrams that were sent to Senator-elect JAMES at that time and read at that banquet. One, from Champ Clark, reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 19, 1912.*

OLLIE M. JAMES, *Marion, Ky.:*

The noblest Roman of them all, hearty greetings. Next to an ex-Kentuckian, whom I will not mention for the sake of modesty, I would rather you, another Kentuckian, were shown the straight

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and narrow path to the White House. If, later on, I am shown that path, I in turn would be happy to have 100,000 Missourians shown that majority for OLLIE JAMES; that would be about the right figure. Your fellow townsmen no doubt will drink to this sentiment with their ayes at the banquet to be tendered you to-night.

CHAMP CLARK.

Another message on the same occasion:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 19, 1912.*

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,

Senator-elect, Marion, Ky.:

If your home folks think as well of you as we standpat Republicans do, it is jug-full and then some. Wish I could gaze upon your big, broad, good-natured face to-night and drink to your health and happiness. As I chew the end of my pantello and imagine wreaths of smoke curling upward I can not help meditating on the fact that the Democratic Party is more obnoxious to me than ever; for you are a shining light of that party and it does not deserve such good fortune.

JOSEPH G. CANNON.

And another:

LINCOLN, NEBR., *January 19, 1912.*

Senator-elect OLLIE M. JAMES,

Marion, Ky.:

Remember 1916. If you are not the standard bearer of our party that year I will be greatly disappointed, for Democracy needs just such men as you to succeed the Democratic nominee we intend to elect next November, one term being enough for any good Democrat, even if he is defeated after two times in the running like some I know of.

My congratulations on the enthusiastic reception I feel reasonably certain your own townsmen are according to you to-night.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

Mr. President, in order to be a leader one must inspire men. OLLIE JAMES did that. He was a master of great assemblies. Probably never in the history of the Nation has one man, save Bryan, exerted more influence in the various national conventions of his party than he. In

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1912 and 1916 he was permanent chairman of the Democratic national convention. It will be difficult, I think, to find, though it may be possible, that the same man has twice in succession presided over a national convention of either party. His speech as permanent chairman of the St. Louis convention in 1916 is one of the masterpieces of political oratory. He had been a great lover and follower of Bryan; also of Champ Clark, whom he earnestly desired to see nominated in 1912. When Woodrow Wilson succeeded and became President he became his stanch defender; and no man ever had a better one. His speech, hereinbefore referred to, at the Democratic national convention was a wonderful tribute to the President, and it came from the depths of his heart.

His ability as an orator would be conceded by all who ever heard him. The old-fashioned, flowery sentences seemed to flow naturally from his lips. The pathos of his soul gripped the heartstrings of his hearers. Tested by the ability to move and convince people, OLLIE JAMES was one of America's great orators, and certainly stood among the leaders as a political campaigner.

He was true to the common folks. He loved them, not for politics' sake, but because he had known them and been raised in the hard school of adversity. He was a true representative of the everyday, average citizen of the Nation, and he was willing to fight in legislation and everywhere else for anyone whom he thought was the under dog in the fight. And OLLIE JAMES was a real fighter in the cause he espoused.

No one would claim that he was not an intense political partisan, but he was fair. I think it would be difficult to have convinced him that the Democratic Party ever made a mistake; but at the same time he could see good in the opposition. Members of this body will not forget his contest with Senator Camden on the floor. The ship-purchase

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bill was under discussion. I shall always remember with what dramatic power he hurled these closing words of his very remarkable speech:

> But, Mr. President, above everything, if this bill must go down, if this great constructive measure must fail, if this must be the first defeat for the greatest President who has occupied that chair in 50 years, if he must fail and above his body the wild shouts of a triumphant Republican Party shall rise, I do pray God that I may be spared the humiliation of reaching down to pull from his body a dagger bearing the impress of the hand of a Kentucky Senator.

I have seen him sway great audiences and arouse them to fighting mood. He could rally his own party forces. His very appearance inspired confidence. They knew he could always take care of himself—in repartee, in humor, or in sledge-hammer blows. Intense partisans want their champion to flay the other fellow. They were sure not to be disappointed when this son of Kentucky got into full action.

He was always anxious in his legislative work to represent the people of his State, although OLLIE JAMES realized that a United States Senator, while accredited to a State, should represent the entire Nation; and he was a big, broad American, hemmed in by no local influences. I have talked with him frequently on the prohibition question. We differed radically; but when things commenced to be going dry pretty fast in the country he said to me one day that while he did not believe in prohibition if the people of Kentucky got around to where they wanted it he should be for it. He believed in the people, and the people believed in him. That was the secret of his strength, and that made him the idol of Kentucky Democracy.

The night of the discussion over the war some of us talked with him and urged him to make a speech. We had had speeches through the day—not much fire in them—and some of us wanted him to make a speech that

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would stir up enthusiasm. He did, in a speech glowing with patriotism and fiery invective against the enemies of America. His father had been a Union soldier, and OLLIE JAMES loved this country as a man loves his mother.

I never dreamed but that OLLIE JAMES had many years of service left to his country. His splendid physique seemed to insure him long life; but the reaper, death, so busy in this body, had marked him for its own. It had not seemed possible that OLLIE JAMES could die. His physical power seemed proof against death, but the cord of life snaps so easily. Truly—

> The leaves of the oak and the willow shall fade,
> Be scattered around, and together be laid;
> And the old and the young, and the low and the high,
> Shall moulder to dust, and together shall lie.

Thus it has ever been; thus it will ever be. And so the great soul winged its flight to those mysterious, unknown realms. It was as if the strong oak of the forest had fallen before its time, and with its fall fell the hopes and aspirations of his friends for yet greater honors for him. For OLLIE JAMES bound to him friends with hoops of steel—not merely everyday friends but the kind who will go through stress and trouble and fight for him.

It was not so much as a politician and statesman that one was drawn to OLLIE JAMES, but it was that something about him that made one feel he was an unusual kind of friend; that he was a brother man, a heart man. He needed a large body to hold his great heart. No one was ever turned from him when needing help, no poor soul without encouragement.

Brave, generous, noble-hearted OLLIE JAMES! We will not see your like again. Sad to us that you should be called to leave this Senate before the full fruition of your life work; and yet such spirits as yours live on in the hearts of those they have befriended. The best epitaph

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that can be written of any man is that men and women and children are a little happier because he has lived; that the world is a little better for his life. That could truly be written above the grave of OLLIE JAMES. That is enough to say of anyone.

As Sunday after Sunday we are meeting here to pay our humble tribute to those who have preceded us on "the long, long trail a-winding," may we not gather a better inspiration for our own lives; a firmer resolve so to live and to act toward one another that we shall be of those who are missed by humanity when the great summons shall come? It is not far away for any of us.

> 'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,
> From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,
> From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud—
> O why should the spirit of mortal be proud?

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Address of Mr. Thomas, of Colorado

Mr. President: I first met Ollie James at the Chicago convention of 1896. He was a large, ungainly giant of a young man, ill-attired, and very self-conscious. The Kentucky delegation occupied seats directly in front of that to which I belonged. Mr. James had been chosen chairman of the delegation, a notable distinction for a young and inexperienced leader. It had been instructed to vote as a unit, the majority at all times to determine what that vote should be. The delegation was a very turbulent one. Free coinage of silver was the issue. It had enthusiastic friends and a few determined enemies in Kentucky, and both sides were represented in the delegation, with silver in the majority. The minority, led by the redoubtable Col. Halderman, never failed to assert itself as occasion required—protesting, denouncing, and defiant. But the chairman, always self-controlled, polled his delegation, announced the rule, and cast the vote, unperturbed by the outcries of his outraged but helpless colleagues. Our acquaintance, beginning amid such dramatic environment, soon ripened into a close friendship, which continued without interruption to the end. I visited Washington frequently during Senator James's career as a Member of the House, when he always made me welcome. He entered the Senate very shortly after I did, and from that time onward our relations were very close indeed.

Senator James was an old-fashioned, uncompromising Democrat. His party faith was to him a sort of religion. Democracy was the only true gospel, and Jefferson and Jackson its great apostles. What his party did was right; what others did was wrong. Party disloyalty was high treason. The candidate having been chosen and the plat-

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form announced, every man should fall into line and obey the orders of the high command. To do otherwise at any time or under any circumstances was to him unthinkable. Honest, straightforward, and courageous himself, he could neither understand nor forgive in any man the offense of repudiating his party platform or opposing his party nominees, whatever the reasons. To him these were anathema.

But such things mattered not at all in his daily intercourse with men. His friends were many and were of all political creeds. These he bound to him with hooks of steel. And he was a welcome guest and companion everywhere, for he was kindly, lovable, brilliant, and entertaining.

Senator JAMES was gifted beyond most men of his generation with the great power of persuasive eloquence. He was a man of fine attainments. Nature had endowed him with a commanding presence, a great voice rich in tones of harmony, and a marvelous faculty of expression. He was not a student, yet one of the best educated men of his time. He possessed fine intellectual faculties. His active mind easily absorbed and always retained information. His knowledge of men and of events, of political history, and of current affairs was remarkable for one who apparently devoted so little time to their contemplation.

When I returned to Washington a year ago after a somewhat extended illness one of the first of my colleagues to welcome me was Senator JAMES. He was apparently in perfect health. I congratulated him upon his immunity from the ills and humors to which less rugged mortals were subject. To my great surprise he replied that he was far from well, and had for some time been in the care of his physician. It was difficult to believe him. But shortly afterwards his very dear friend, the late Senator Hughes, passed away. From the shock

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of this great grief he never fully recovered, and I have no doubt that it hastened the development of his malady. A few days afterwards he addressed the Senate upon the conduct of the war by way of reply to a speech of the senior Senator from Oregon upon the same subject. This address was characterized by all the earnestness and eloquence of the man. No listener could have suspected the speaker of illness, nor yet of waning physical or mental vigor. But he sustained himself to the close of his speech only by the most painful and prodigious effort, and retired to the cloakroom completely exhausted. He appeared in the Senate Chamber only two or three times thereafter.

He died at a critical moment in public affairs. The allied advance was in full swing, but the German power was as yet unimpaired. New armies were gathering in America and the Nation was preparing for its mightiest effort. His services and his influence were needed as they never had been.

The grim summons could not have come more inopportunely for him nor for his country. But matters like these lie beyond the power of human regulation and must be borne because they can not be avoided. And since man is ordained to die, the life of no single individual, however exalted, is indispensable to the welfare of the race. Society adjusts itself to the inevitable, and the inexorable processes of time are seemingly undisturbed by the tragedies of life or the needs of statecraft.

He was a typical son of Kentucky. There he was born and there he always lived. For him there was not other landscape so green, no skies nor sunshine so winsome, no people so lovable. His was the one country of the earth, and Kentucky the fairest jewel in her crown of Commonwealths. He loved her with the same passionate devotion which the Frenchman lavishes upon the land of

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the tricolor and the lilies. And she returned his affection by crowning him with her highest honors. He served her well, added his name to the long and shining list of her illustrious sons, and sleeps peacefully in the sheltering embrace of her generous bosom. May the grass upon his grave be green while time endures.

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Address of Mr. Lewis, of Illinois

Mr. President: What an interesting exception we have lately made, sir, when the Members of this body and our colleagues of the House adopted the holy Sabbath as the day when men shall assemble in Congress to speak there the feelings of the heart as to one who is dead. Yet, sir, if there is anything that can suggest to the mind that there is no death, it must be tributes such as we have heard falling from the lips of those who speak only as the heart feeleth. If, sir, there were death in the sense we are sometimes taught to appreciate that word, men could not live in the souls of those who love them as though they were an inspired spirit breathing its own incense of beauty and fragrance of life—aye, to the last moment of memory. That we should on the Sabbath turn our worship a little while to those who personified in their existence that which is meant by religion is a beauteous adoption on the part of these, sir, who represent this assembly.

Yet, sir, our meeting here speaks the fact that great men, great in merit of mind, in character of life, in virtue of public integrity have died. Truly, sir,

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour.
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

I heard the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Kenyon], Republican so called in the political division, and the eminent Senator the colleague of Senator James, Senator Beckham, Democrat, each pour out his tribute to the splendid State that gave birth to these two great men whose characteristics we commemorate this day—Senator Stone, of Missouri, and Senator James, of Kentucky. Sometimes,

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sir, I am moved to the fact that as there is a certain soil which may produce a celestial bloom in floral growth and others that impart massive strength to forest tree, so, too, sir, there are certain places in regions of earth that produce men in different flavor and varying standards from that which cometh up from other soil.

Kentucky! Her every mountain preaches strength and presents something of a titanic aspect. Her hills huddle themselves together in something of glory, the furze of autumn and the flowers of spring sparkle in original beauty. In Kentucky every stream ripples through a sacred soil, while the shimmering light dimpling on her grasses makes radiant that which the world apostrophizes as the blue grass of Kentucky.

Natural, indeed, that from such a State there should come forth such spirits that embody within themselves elements something apart, indeed wholly different, from that which may be possessed by men elsewhere. Though we will not say of all that they were in all superior in their primal endowments, yet, sir, by comparison they were never failing in their virtues. Kentucky! There was Clay, Crittenden, Marshall, Beck, and now JAMES. How their names loom before us and rise as something ascending to the mountain steps and presenting to us truly the visages of greatness.

What a startling partiality this great State presents, where there seems to come nothing from her but that which shall be called wonderful!

Mr. President, I am not a qualified witness to the virtues of the noble dead we celebrate. My contribution can not be regarded impartial. I can not speak of the statesman OLLIE M. JAMES in the abstract analysis that these distinguished gentlemen have framed and clothed him. I knew him intimately as a close, dear, personal friend; as such I loved him. In the House the distinguished Member from

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Alabama, Hon. Thomas Heflin, was probably the closest, apart from members of the delegation of Kentucky, of any of his colleagues in that branch. The eminent Senator from Colorado, Mr. Thomas, in his epic contribution but a moment past referred to the closeness that Senator JAMES bore to Senator Hughes, of New Jersey. Pardon me if I add, sir, that early conditions of acquaintance drew me within that circle as one of the few to whom I think Senator JAMES came with those little personal matters which mark the man as human, apart from the official and the statesman. I therefore knew him, sir, as a man, as did many of you who sit about me on this sacred occasion. He learned through the vicissitudes of life and the arduous struggles of one who had to combat all obstacles from men to feel that only within himself was there the true resource of conquest and victory. He had not the aspirations to acquire riches with which he might purchase immunity from the world's struggles and exemptions from its burdens or its miseries. He sought not that social exclusiveness that might look with disdain upon his fellow men in lesser spheres of life. Nor, sir, did he strive for heights of renown in that thing which we call statesmanship in office that he might glorify himself in something of magnificence above his fellows.

To him ever was the single object in whatever avenue he thought and whatever path he walked that all his efforts might lead to the aid of his fellow men. He recognized that all to be done and achieved was within him. His creed was that of Henley:

> It matters not how straight the gate,
> How charged with punishment the scroll;
> I am the master of my fate,
> I am the captain of my soul.

This text, sir, guided him. This it may have been that charmed and allured him to toil and undertaking, and by

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that standard he achieved. That measure, sir, he applied to all those about him. He ever felt that men should be natural and true to themselves as men. That men should look within themselves to find their standards and from such behold what should be the guide of their conduct. There was not a man he knew, however humble, to whom he would not extend his hand. There was not one in distress who could not look to him for refuge. He did not know how not to be a friend.

Can we forget an instance here in this body, when an humble Armenian whom no one knew, who seemed to have been friendless in the invention that he thought he had conceived that could contribute something of welfare to our Nation? There were few who had confidence in the invention; but Senator JAMES, as chairman then of the Committee on Patents, though smirked at and smiled at by those of his beloved friends who understood his credulity and how easily he was impressed with any cry of distress from any quarter—nevertheless, sir, was found here pressing the claim of that obscure man for a hearing. This man was so situated that he could contribute to Senator JAMES nothing personally or politically. Senator JAMES did not know whether his petitioner could contribute anything of material benefit to the Government, but the advocacy by Senator JAMES was an evidence, sir, of a nature so boundless in all its generosity, so large in all its sacrifices, so gentle in its mercies, that he could turn his great office and solicit at the hands of his legislative comrades the highest service to be given to any mankind. This he would have done anywhere for anyone, however high or low the pleading mortal who asked for a hearing. I saw nothing in all his life to me so significant of the generous soul that beat through all his life as this exhibition he gave us of his solicitude in behalf of a helpless man, without means and without influence.

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Mr. President, it was as a statesman that these his colleagues could well turn their attention and address their tribute. They have done so with beauty and power. Kentucky, sir, was a State which was cradled in all the swinging flame that swirled to and fro in the awful strife between the States of this Union.

There was not a village within her precincts that was not accursed with the differences by which brothers oftentimes faced each other with frowns, and not infrequently with swords, on the battle field. Kentucky was removed in a great degree from many of the extended questions and widening problems that agitated and agonized the general land—particularly in the great West, in which I live. Yet it is interesting to observe that when Mr. JAMES came into public life from Kentucky he extended his mind into the broad area of the needs of all humankind. He declined to be narrowed to the mere demands of his dear hills and sweet valleys, and while as the distinguished Senators who have just addressed us have imparted to him the attribute of faithful party affiliation, he was a Democrat who aspired only that he might represent the principles of the great democracy of man as he understood it. Mr. President, let justice be done to him, and that is to say that it was ever the great breadth and sweep of his whole country that engaged his attention and solicited his services and to which he dedicated his daily life.

There was never a grievance in any part of America that was not his. There was not a wrong done in a State that he did not feel. There was not a suffering of humankind in the circle of this whole Republic that it was not his trust to remedy. There was not misery about him even of the humblest of mankind that did not beat against his heart and surge in every vein of his existence. For the removing of all this he was a statesman; it was to remedy

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the wrongs of his country; it was to do justice to his fellow men he spoke, he served, he lived.

Sir, it is said he was an orator. Yes; and truly Senators may refer to the conventions in which he exhibited such marvelous skill and the display of such talent, readily to be envied by any mortal. But I beseech you for a second to dwell on one passing thought. Senator JAMES was truly the follower and supporter of Hon. Champ Clark, of Missouri, for the Presidency. He presided over the convention at Baltimore City with all the solicitude that a friend could have. Yet so impartial and so just was he there that he commended himself to the followers of the successful rival of Mr. Clark, Mr. Wilson; and four years thereafter he was seen to be the chairman of the convention that was known to be for the then successful President, Woodrow Wilson. So just was he in all his rulings, so impartial in all his career, so manifestly true to all that there was confided to him there was no one to lift a voice against his elevation to the same authority. It was not to men as persons he rendered his devotion but to principle, and whoever carried the colors of that principle of right and justice such it was under whom he marched and for that principle he drew his sword and blew his golden trumpet.

Thus it was he became such an orator. He spoke from his heart. He echoed from his soul. He cried out to mankind, and, sir, he suffered the wrongs he abjured and condemned when suffered by others. He felt hurt in the pains wounding others, and he lived the hopes that he prayed for in behalf of his neighbors and his fellow citizens. Sir, thus it was that he was the manner of man we have listened to. Forty-seven years of age, hardly, sir, at the threshold of what begins a public career of greatness

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to other men when he was summoned to celestial service. Truly, as Byron described Sheridan:

> Fruits of a genial morn, and glorious noon,
> The deathless part of him who died too soon.

But, Mr. President, I decline to bear that solemn sadness that pervades many of my friends who have spoken so beautifully of the departed one. I have seen a candle burn down to its socket. I have seen its light go out. I have seen a little remnant of oil that marked where once a living flame burned and glowed, and I was saddened.

I have seen men come to public life akin to that candle and burn their lives out so long and so low that none could see the reflection of the flame where once they flashed, nor behold the beauty which was woven by their threads of silken sweetness.

Here was a man who through his gifts and by the permission of Heaven was allowed to climb the mountains of greatness as high as men can usually ascend, and just at the pinnacle—indeed, at the top—with the glowing sun of success radiating about his head, he is beckoned to and ascends heavenward, carrying with him, sir, the aureole of his reputation, the love of every friend, the admiration of man, and the fresh memory of his splendid achievements to praise before the world. This is the pride of Kentucky; it is the glory of the United States Senate. As such this Senator becomes the idol of his State and the example to ambition to emulate as a standard of a Christian and a famous man. What could Heaven give man greater than this to transcend to his family, to transmit to his generation, and to establish him in praise and in commemoration in ages that shall remember him?

Sir, that I mourn my friend it is true; that I deplore his loss, yes; because I saw the sweet and gentle life which he lived among those who loved him; but, sir, I can not but

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say that as death must come and as there must be the end of the journey to us all, I would to Heaven that those I love could have so sweet a fate, that when they go out they could go in such a golden glow as gleamed upon his existence and lighted his way to Heaven; for of him we may say: "A great tree has fallen in the forest, and with its crash the gates of Heaven opened and angels came forth proclaiming to the Master, 'There cometh one to us whom we now receive for that we loved him long and dearly.'"

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Address of Mr. Martin, of Kentucky

Mr. President: The associates and colleagues in this body of him whose memory we have here gathered to honor have so feelingly paid him tribute and have with rare and choice expression so accurately portrayed those well-known outstanding traits, attainments, and characteristics which gave to Ollie M. James his fame and endeared him to his friends that I feel as impotent to add anything to their eulogies as I am powerless to do justice to the life and character of this most remarkable man.

Yet I avail myself of the privilege of this memorial occasion to recall to the Senate some incidents of his career, showing what manner of man he was, and for Kentucky, in mourning for her gifted son, to lay upon his grave a well-deserved wreath of kindly memories.

From the beginning of his political history until its close by death at Johns Hopkins Hospital on the 28th day of August last, Senator Ollie M. James was constantly and conspicuously in the public eye—first in his congressional district; then in his native State; and, finally, as a figure of national renown.

For 15 years he was the undisputed, unquestioned, recognized leader of his State's Democracy. His leadership was founded upon his own power, his unique personality, his unparalleled popularity. He ignored machine politicians and the methods of machine politics and was never embroiled in the factional differences which so often divided his party in the State. He was indifferent as to whether the party organization was under the control of friend or foe. With the consciousness of his power and of his predominating influence with the masses, who recognized in him an aggressive exponent of the prin-

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ciples in which they inherently believed, he was content to trust his political fate and fortunes to their keeping.

Early in his career politicians found that he was too strong to be stayed; aspiring ones knew that when he wanted place he got it. They dared not oppose him, and practically without interference he was returned time after time to the National House of Representatives, then elected to the Senate by the general assembly, and again, while in the very throes of death, was chosen, with the certainty of election, as the nominee of his party for the term beginning March 4 next. During his first term in Congress, when in his 32d year, he took a commanding place; he was well informed on principles of government as well as those of his party whose tenets and faith he advocated and defended valorously on all occasions.

In legislative action he was guided by and strictly adhered to what he considered the limitations of the Constitution and always stoutly defended his conception of the Democratic doctrine of States' rights. Consistently with his belief, he opposed vigorously Federal legislation on both the liquor question and woman suffrage; he regarded such action as an invasion of State sovereignty. Despite the entreaties and persuasion of close political and personal friends, steadfastly and courageously he maintained his convictions on these subjects.

While he revered and defended the mandates of the Constitution, he was not reactionary, and had no patience with those who shielded such tendencies behind abstruse technicalities of constitutional construction.

This is shown by a speech he made in the Sixty-first Congress, defending a bill restricting gambling on cotton futures, in which he said:

I have been here a number of years now and during that time I have seen many a knight of the Constitution come galloping into the lists gallantly, bearing himself with skill and ease, but I have

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during my service here seen not one of these knights of the Constitution, with visor down and lance at rest, come into the lists to do battle for the man who sows the grain or reaps the harvest or digs the ditch.

Mr. President, there are preserved in the records of the House and Senate as a monument to his talent and genius, as evidence of his patriotic solicitude for the welfare of his native land, numberless utterances, profound in thought, striking in style, eloquent in appeal. The last of these was made on this floor one year ago in this month, when, sensing the hideous magnitude of the war's meaning to the United States, and quickly realizing the burden that was to rest upon the shoulders of the President, he plead for support of his policies and decried criticism, then so prevalent, of the conduct of the war; he reminded the country that there were in the days of the American Revolution men who tried to displace George Washington, though he afterwards waved in triumph the conquered sword of Cornwallis; that there were critics in Lincoln's time whose policies, if adopted, would have ended in disruption of the Union instead of a triumphal march of the American Army down Pennsylvania Avenue. With confidence that Woodrow Wilson, if unheckled and unannoyed, would measure up to his great task, he predicted in that speech that—

The time will come in the providence of God when our victorious Army, with America back of it, will come back home in triumph and march down this same great avenue, panoplied with flowers and love and tears and pride of all America in review before Woodrow Wilson, the man whom not only America but all the civilized world trusts. Liberty will be safe and Americanism will be secure.

His judgment was justified, his prediction has come true. Before the snows of a single winter had fallen on

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his new-made grave the armistice was signed. Peace had come.

The war drum throbs no longer; the battle flags are furled.

That victorious Army is coming home, and before this month shall have passed will march triumphantly down this avenue in review before the President of this great Republic, whom, in the eventful and crucial days of preparation for war, when he was beset by pacifists, pro-Germans, and critics, OLLIE M. JAMES, with unsurpassed patriotism, supported, defended, upheld, and encouraged.

Mr. President, no tribute to OLLIE M. JAMES would be complete, no history of him could do his memory justice that did not give emphasis to his honor, his honesty, and his intensely keen sense of the obligations of a Senator and public servant.

During the last year of his life his services were sought in two important legal cases from which he would have derived a fabulous sum—much more than lawyers of acknowledged ability could earn in a lifetime. Yet he refused to accept employment in either of them, for he believed that it was not his legal ability which the litigants sought, but an expected advantage because of his political prominence. In the summer of 1917 he had a contract with the Northwestern Chautauqua Association, by the terms of which he was to receive the sum of $10,000 as a platform speaker for that association during the summer of that year. Conceiving that duty required his attendance upon the extra session of Congress which was called, he canceled this conflicting engagement and devoted himself to his congressional labors.

His intellect, Mr. President, was one of marvelous native power; his natural talents he developed and enriched by attentive alertness to his surroundings and by embracing the unusual opportunities which he had of learning from

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the many sources open to him in public life. He was most noted for his gift of oratory; but he did not owe his triumphs so much to this as he did to an extraordinary mind, to steady work, and the impression he made on others that he was a man of ability. He was wonderfully adept in his power to engage and hold the attention of great throngs, and to this was due largely his great success in presiding over, with masterly control, two great turbulent Democratic national conventions. His oratory was not the construction of phraseology into the "business" style, but as a speechmaker he was distinctly southern, a master of flowery language, with the taste and tact not to employ it beyond effective limit. Old-fashioned it may be, but in the case of OLLIE M. JAMES no man can say that he ever listened to one of his speeches all the way through and never got a single thrill out of it.

Mr. President, OLLIE JAMES was a brave fighter who never lost a battle and never surrendered except to the final foe; he was, above all, a man and a gentleman, in whose soul burned brightly the light of chivalric courtesy and heartfelt consideration for others.

These qualities, to Kentuckians, who hate a coward and to whom it means something sacred to be a gentleman, appealed with such compelling force as to make of him the idol of his people, the most popular and admired man of his day.

The late distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Mr. President, has yielded the floor, never again to be heard in this Chamber. Kentucky is proud of his record here. The Nation will never forget him. We who knew him personally will always hold his memory in sacred and deep affection.

As a part of my remarks, Mr. President, I desire to read into the Record the resolutions upon the death of Senator

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JAMES adopted by the Democratic State central and executive committees of Kentucky:

In the death of Senator OLLIE M. JAMES democracy has lost a great and gifted champion, the Senate an acknowledged leader of approved skill, the President of the United States a chosen champion and sponsor, and the people of Kentucky an idol son, whom she regarded, not without cause, with pride and affection.

Stricken in the meridian of his splendid manhood, his short life was crowded with splendid achievement. For 20 years a representative of the State in every national convention, twice he was chosen to preside over deliberations called to select his party's champion for the highest office in the civilized world. For five successive terms, without opposition, he represented his district in the Federal Congress, and upon his voluntary retirement from that post of honor he accepted a higher and more coveted position. From the hour of his appearance in the Senate of the United States he served with that distinction for which his ripened experience and brilliant talents so well fitted him.

His death at this hour is regretted not by a party alone, but by a Commonwealth and by a Nation.

Loyal, ardent, patriotic, brilliant orator, accomplished statesman, "though dead he still speaketh." His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of Kentuckians long after monuments of bronze or marble erected above his ashes shall have ceased to defy "the wasting tooth of time."

Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Missouri (Mr. Stone) and to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. JAMES) I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 3, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

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Proceedings in the House of Representatives

Wednesday, *August 28, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee that the American Army in France has for its commander in chief not only a brave, gallant, and efficient soldier, but a Christian gentleman, whose faith in God is unbounded, as disclosed in the incomparable life, character, and precepts of His Son Jesus Christ, who represents the Father in the concrete and man at his best.

The words which come from Gen. Pershing to the people of America are altogether reassuring:

"The invisible, unconquerable force let loose by the prayers, hopes, and ideals of Christian America is incalculable, and furnishes the soul and the motive for the military body and its cooperation; it steadies us to resist manfully the temptations which assail us in the extraordinary conditions in which we find ourselves."

God be with him, his soldiers, and their associates, and grant them a speedy victory for the world.

Our Father, again we are called upon to mourn the loss of one of the congressional family. We knew him on the floor of this House—a strong, efficient, wise man. We have known him as a Senator, full of enthusiasm, strength, and potency. Comfort us and be especially with his widow and those who are near and dear to him, and bring us at last into one of those many mansions prepared by the Saviour for Thy children. Amen.

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A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky.

Resolved, That a committee of 15 Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. JAMES, to be held in the city of Marion, Ky.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, a Senator of the United States from the State of Kentucky.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 16 Members be appointed upon the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces the following committee, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Johnson of Kentucky, Mr. Helm, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Cantrill, Mr. Fields, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Kincheloe, Mr. Garrett of Tennessee, Mr. Heflin, Mr. Harrison of Mississippi,

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Mr. Langley, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Kahn, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and Mr. Walsh.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; accordingly at 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m. the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 29, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

WEDNESDAY, *January 29, 1919.*

Mr. EAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 23, be set aside to hold memorial exercises on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. William Hughes, late Senator from the State of New Jersey.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request on the same date for memorial exercises on the late Senator OLLIE JAMES, of Kentucky.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that February 23 be set aside for holding memorial exercises on the late Senator Hughes, of New Jersey, and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] makes the same request touching the late Senator JAMES, of Kentucky. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

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MONDAY, *February 3, 1919.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Kentucky.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

FRIDAY, *February 21, 1919.*

The SPEAKER. Before beginning that the Chair designates the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Sherley] to preside next Sunday, and when they come to the eulogies on the Senator from Wisconsin the Chair will ask the gentleman from Kentucky to invite Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin to preside, and when they come to the Senator from New Jersey to invite Mr. Egan to preside.

Mr. MANN. Is next Sunday set aside for eulogies?

The SPEAKER. Next Sunday is set aside for eulogies upon three.

SUNDAY, *February 23, 1919.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by Mr. Sherley as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Great Father Soul, in whom we live and move and have our being, we bless Thee for the deep moral and spiritual excellence resident in the heart of man, which

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moves him to deeds of self-sacrifice in behalf of others, liberty, truth, right, justice, which excite in his fellows admiration, gratitude, praise.

We are here to-day in memory of three men who died in the harness, striving for the betterment of the American citizen as Senators of the National Congress. Long may their works live in the heart of the true American to inspire those who shall come after them, that the American institutions may live an ensample to all mankind.

Comfort, we beseech Thee, all to whom they were nearest and dearest, by the angels of faith, hope, love, in the overruling providence of the living God, who hath decreed that life is stronger than death and love shall never die.

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me."

"In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."

Amen.

Mr. Sherley took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Barkley, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, February 23, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of

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Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Kentucky.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

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Address of Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: Of those who speak of Ollie James upon this occasion I knew him longer. When he was only thirteen or fourteen years of age he went to Frankfort as a page in the Kentucky Legislature, of which body I was then a member. Well do I recall him as a rollicking boy, in knee pants. There, away from the care of father and the watchful solicitude of mother, one might have feared for him lest the seeds of vice be sown in his young mind. But, even then, all his thoughts, as evidenced by his conversations and acts, turned not to youthful frivolities, but to the more serious problems of life. Of evenings my room at the hotel was his customary place. Many, many times I found him closely engaged in studying and asking questions full of thought about pending legislative measures, although he was but little more than in his teens. At that time the opposition to corporate greed, which later was developed into real issue by the lamented Goebel, found serious public expression in Kentucky. I noticed the trend of the thoughts of this mere boy; and, as time went by, I saw the development of his mind. Then, after only a few years, although not yet a man, I saw his mind and heart in their molding. Before he had reached man's full estate I introduced him to a public audience in the courthouse at Bardstown, Ky., the place of my residence, and there heard him make a speech which presaged the orator and statesman to which he grew. Nearly twenty-five years later I introduced him for a speech to another audience at the same place. On this occasion his well-recognized statesmanship and his fame as an orator pre-

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ceded him and filled the town with people, whose faithful champion he ever was. No greater speech has ever been made on the hustings than was his of that day. Our country was all but in the throes of a terrible war with the most powerful, the most ambitious, the most savage autocrat that ever came into this world in human form.

Such a word picture of Belgium's horrors; such a vivid description of the destruction of France by the German hordes then almost at the gates of Paris; such a detail of danger to the existence of Great Britain; such a placing before the minds of others of the pending menace to our own country and the world no man before or since has presented. His audience knew real intellectual effort when it came along. Bardstown, Ky., where he made that speech, is not the easiest place to be found in the world for a speech. Long before Kentucky was admitted to the Union she was known as the "Athens of the West."

There Jesuits, the best educated of educators in the world, found their way before the Indian had gone; there in the wilderness they erected a great college; there was established the first Catholic bishopric east of the Allegheny Mountains, extending from New Orleans to Montreal and from the upper Ohio River to the Pacific. There hung the paintings of such masters as Rubens and Van Dyck, the gifts of Louis Philippe, King of the French; there, where Foster composed and set to music the soul-stirring strains of "My Old Kentucky Home"; there, where the gifted S. S. Prentice met more than an equal in the renowned Ben Hardin; there, where John Rowan, ambassador to Italy, United States Senator, lawyer, and statesman, had left his impress; there, where Charles A. Wickliffe, Cabinet officer and profound lawyer, spent his life; there, where William R. Grigsby, eminent jurist, set a high standard for expression of thought—it was there

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that OLLIE JAMES made one of the most impressive and patriotic speeches of this generation.

I have heard men speak of OLLIE JAMES having climbed the ladder of fame to almost the topmost rung. OLLIE JAMES never had to climb. He simply rose from year to year as occasion came for an uncovering of his wonderful gifts. To him nature was most prodigal, indeed, in her generosity. He was given size that brought attention; a personality most pleasing; a voice heavy and strong, yet musical; a manner most engaging and prepossessing; always gentle and kind; ever charitable; never envious nor detractive; and, still more, an intellectuality that challenged the admiration of all.

In the common acceptation of the word OLLIE JAMES is dead. That of him which was only clay is dead; but as long as Americans may be able to read his mental achievements will live.

We are taught that in the beginning God molded a form out of clay, a form which became that of man. But, when it had been so molded, it was inanimate. It could neither move, speak, think, nor in any way acknowledge even its own Creator.

God leaned over that form of clay and breathed into it. Then it arose, endowed with the Heavenly attributes of justice, charity, mercy, and the other qualities so generously given OLLIE JAMES.

That form of clay has been given back to earth whence it was taken. But those splendid endowments will survive on earth; while that soul, given of God, has but been taken back to God.

With the "golden rule" as the test, his sojourn here was most beautiful, indeed. Those who shared his generosity and received his charity are countless; while no one can be found whom he ever wronged. Such as OLLIE JAMES live always.

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Mr. SPEAKER: The State of Kentucky has no bronze or marble in Statuary Hall, but her sons need no monument to perpetuate their fame. We of the Northwest owe to the Pioneer State a debt of historical and political magnitude that we can never repay. Had it not been for the daring of Daniel Boone and David Harrod and George Rogers Clark, and men of their kind, the Northwest territory would in all probability now be a part of Canada, and we of Michigan and Ohio, and Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota would be going with the members from Ontario and Manitoba to sessions of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, instead of coming to Washington to the Congress of the United States. There is no page of our history brighter than the story of the first of our bursting buds of empire, the first chapter of the Winning of the West. Before the Revolution the sons of Virginia began going over the top of the forest-darkened Alleghenies in a stream of home builders, whose progress has never stopped. God made the North Temperate Zone for the home of the white race, and he put Kentucky in the center of it. Forest and prairie, river and rock, soil of eternal fertility, climate mild yet bracing, its landscape and its people pure American, and we, the neighbors of Kentucky, are proud of every minute of her history. It was the men of Kentucky, headed by George Rogers Clark, who waded through miles of icy spring floods, surprised and defeated the British forces under Hamilton at Vincennes, sent him a prisoner to Virginia, and dealt the death blow to British dominion south and west of the Great Lakes. If Kentucky had done no more than that her place in the history of American independence and American development would be forever secure.

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But every student of our early days must realize that while the Revolution passed the bill, the War of 1812 was a motion to reconsider; and it was not until Andrew Jackson and his riflemen from Kentucky and Tennessee mowed down Pakenham and his British regulars at New Orleans that the motion to reconsider was laid on the table. Again all glory to the wild men of the blue grass.

I love to think of the Battle of New Orleans, because its diplomacy and its shooting were so characteristic of Americans. Pakenham, scorning the backwoods general and disdaining ordinary courtesy, wrote:

Jackson, surrender New Orleans!

Jackson wrote back:

Pakenham, come and take it.

Pakenham wrote:

Jackson, I expect to take my breakfast in New Orleans Sunday morning.

Jackson responded:

Pakenham, if you do, you will take your supper in hell Sunday night.

And the tradition of all good Kentuckians is that the Kentucky riflemen were in the front rank that fired the fatal first volley which blasted Wellington's veterans like chaff in a blaze. That was American diplomacy and American shooting, both straight and to the point. It was that battle, the ending of the War of 1812, which made possible the treaty that put the United States of America beyond the experimental stage, and made permanent our dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Because in the negotiations about Oregon and Texas later Great Britain dealt with a nation she could not fail to respect.

Meantime from the limestone soil of Kentucky there was springing up a race of giants, sons of those long

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Scotch-Irishmen, improving the breed with every generation. In 1808, 16 years after Kentucky was admitted to the Union, was born a boy destined to lead the South in the great Civil War, and a year later there saw the light in that State the boy who, as sixteenth President of the United States, was to do more than any other man to save the Union and live to see our Nation preserved. It is a remarkable fact that Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln were born within a year of each other in the same State, which about half a century later furnished to each Army, the South and the North, thousands of its best sons, and which again became, as it had been once before, the dark and bloody ground.

Into this State, with this history, with these inspirations, there was born in 1871 the man whose memory we honor to-day; the son of a lawyer, who at the age of 20 was admitted to the bar, and whose personal qualities brought him almost at once into prominence. Other speakers here to-day will give the details of his early life. He was chosen a delegate to Democratic national conventions for 20 years, beginning when only 25 years of age, in 1896, and in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1916. He was permanent chairman of the conventions of 1912 and 1916. For 10 years he was a Member of this House; and beginning March 4, 1913, was one of the Senators from his State, an honored member of the illustrious company of great men who have held that office, of whom Henry Clay and John G. Carlisle are only two of many who might be recalled.

Perhaps Senator JAMES attained his greatest prominence in 1912, when he was permanent chairman of the Baltimore national convention, which nominated Woodrow Wilson for his first presidential term; and later was chairman of the committee that formally notified him of his nomination. In his speech as permanent chairman Mr. JAMES said:

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The Civil War is over, and that flag—the brightest, dearest colors ever knit together in a banner of the free—waves above a united people, where it is loved by every heart and would be defended by every hand. And coming from the South as I do, I can say that if Abraham Lincoln were alive this night there is not a foot of soil under Dixie's sky upon which he might not pitch his tent and pillow his head upon a Confederate soldier's knee, and sleep in safety there.

That this is one united country has been shown again, more gloriously than anyone could have dreamed seven years ago, by the history of the great war since April, 1917.

Mr. Speaker, for many years the joint sessions of the Senate and House were held only once in four years, to count the electoral votes for President. But in the last six years there have been many joint sessions; and every time I see the Members of the Senate march into this Hall and take their places in the front rows reserved for them I think of the power and greatness of the States they represent. Why, such has been the increase in the efficiency of men in war that if the troops raised from the little State of Rhode Island, with their rifles, machine guns, and field artillery, could be turned upon the Persian hosts that thronged the field of Marathon, there would be no battle, but only a massacre of the barbarians. In the small State of Delaware there was made last year enough of high explosive to have destroyed all the armies of all the wars of antiquity. And the advance that has been made in methods of destruction has been equaled in the arts of construction and production as well. To be a Senator now from one of the States of this Union is a prouder privilege, a far worthier place in the procession of human progress, than to have been any tyrant or monarch of old. Our dead friend was chosen by his State to be one of her Senators. It is honor enough for any man.

Mr. Speaker, when one gets to talking about Kentucky he never knows when to stop. Her pioneers, her warriors,

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her statesmen are an inspiring topic. The great Speaker of this House is one of her illustrious sons. In literature and song, as well as in sterner things, Kentucky has an immortal place. Who does not love Stephen C. Foster's "Old Kentucky Home" and "'Way Down Upon the Suwannee River"?

It was Kentucky's heroes in the Mexican War who called forth from Theodore O'Hara, one of her own people, what is probably the most perfect memorial poem ever written in any language, and which will be repeated over soldiers' graves as long as the English language is spoken. And with that immortal poem I close this eulogy:

THE BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD.

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
  The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
  That brave and fallen few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
  Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards, with solemn round,
  The bivouac of the dead.

No rumor of the foe's advance
  Now swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight haunts
  Of loved ones left behind;
No vision of the morrow's strife
  The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn nor screaming fife
  At dawn shall call to arms.

Their shivered swords are red with rust;
  Their plumed heads are bowed;
Their haughty banner, trailed in dust,
  Is now their martial shroud.
And plenteous funeral tears have washed
  The red stains from each brow,
And the proud forms, by battle gashed,
  Are free from anguish now.

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The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
  The bugle's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
  The din and shout are past;
Nor war's wild note, nor glory's peal,
  Shall thrill with fierce delight
Those breasts that never more may feel
  The rapture of the fight.

Like the fierce northern hurricane
  That sweeps his great plateau,
Flushed with the triumph yet to gain,
  Came down the serried foe.
Who heard the thunder of the fray
  Break o'er the field beneath,
Knew well the watchword of that day
  Was "victory or death."

Long had the doubtful conflict raged
  O'er all that stricken plain,
For never fiercer fight had waged
  The vengeful blood of Spain;
And still the storm of battle blew,
  Still swelled the gory tide.
Not long, our stout old chieftain knew,
  Such odds his strength could bide.

'Twas in that hour his stern command
  Called to a martyr's grave
The flower of his beloved land,
  The Nation's flag to save.
By rivers of their fathers' gore
  His first-born laurels grew,
And well he deemed the sons would pour
  Their lives for glory, too.

Full many a norther's breath has swept
  O'er Angostura's plain,
And long the pitying sky has wept
  Above its moldered slain.

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The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
  Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awakes each sullen height
  That frowned o'er that dread fray.

Sons of the dark and bloody ground,
  Ye must not slumber there,
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
  Along the heedless air.
Your own proud land's heroic soil
  Shall be your fitter grave;
She claims from war his richest spoil—
  The ashes of her brave.

Thus 'neath their parent turf they rest,
  Far from the gory field,
Borne to a Spartan mother's breast
  On many a bloody shield;
The sunshine of their native sky
  Smiles sadly on them here,
And kindred eyes and hearts watch by
  The heroes' sepulcher.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead!
  Dear as the blood ye gave;
No impious footstep here shall tread
  The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your story be forgot,
  While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
  Where valor proudly sleeps.

Yon marble minstrel's voiceless stone
  In deathless song shall tell,
When many a vanished age hath flown,
  The story how ye fell;
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
  Nor time's remorseless doom,
Shall dim one ray of glory's light
  That gilds your deathless tomb.

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Address of Mr. Rouse, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: The great sovereign State of Kentucky has been represented in the Senate of the United States by 44 of her citizens, Ollie M. James being the forty-second Senator. To John J. Crittenden belongs the honor of the longest years of service, he having served 18 years. Joseph C. S. Blackburn served 17 years and Henry Clay served 15 years. The remarkable part of the senatorial history is that the service of two of the ablest statesmen, Henry Clay and John J. Crittenden, extended over the same period of years, but not at the same time. It was 44 years from the time each entered the Senate until his last term expired. Eight of these men so honored served less than one year, and one was expelled.

Ollie M. James was born in Crittenden County, Ky., on July 27, 1871. From the beginning his career was notable though humble, and with only the education that he acquired from the common and academic schools of his county he rose in a very short period of time from a page in the Kentucky House of Representatives to the highest position in the gift of the people of his native State, and this he accomplished without the means of a political machine but with the confidence of the people.

He was a firm believer in the principles of the Democratic Party in its best and broadest definition. He always believed and declared in the supremacy of the people. When at the age of 25 he was elected a delegate to the Democratic convention in Chicago which nominated Mr. Bryan and afterwards campaigned for the nominee, his devoted friend and admirer, in many of the States. He was a delegate from the State at large to the Democratic convention held in Kansas City in 1900, to the St. Louis convention in 1904, the Denver convention in 1908, to

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the Baltimore convention in 1912, and to the St. Louis convention in 1916. At the conventions of 1900, 1904, and 1908 he was elected chairman of his State delegation. He was defeated for the chairmanship of his State delegation in 1912, but was elected permanent chairman of the national convention a month later, which was a higher honor and one sought by many of the able men of the party. His fairness and ability were so demonstrated that at the convention of 1916 the President insisted that he be made the permanent chairman of the convention, which was done by acclamation, and which convention renominated Mr. Wilson for his second term.

Well do some of us remember the happenings of the State convention held in Louisville in June, 1912, when Senator JAMES resorted to the unusual. He made one of his able speeches and concluded by placing himself in nomination for the chairmanship of the convention. He was defeated in this ambition, and it was with great regret that some of us were compelled, for the sake of party organization, to cast our votes against the beloved Senator. However, though defeated for the chairmanship of his State convention, he was chosen a delegate to the national convention at Baltimore, and it was here that he was elected by acclamation permanent chairman of the great convention which gave to the people Woodrow Wilson. JAMES was one of the leaders of Speaker Champ Clark for the Democratic nomination in Baltimore in 1912, but after his candidate was defeated he supported the nominee of his party, and was at once the leader and spokesman of Mr. Wilson, and soon became the mouthpiece of the present administration in the Senate of the United States. His last speech made in the Senate, a little more than a year ago, was a masterpiece in defense of the President and his policies in the conduct of the war.

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OLLIE JAMES rendered more distinguished service to the party which he loved and gave more time to the success of his party in the State and Nation than any other public man during our time. He took a leading part in the last six Democratic conventions, was the foremost man to enunciate the principles of the party, and with his towering figure and wonderful voice was seen and heard in a majority of the States of the Union during the campaigns, both State and national, during the past 25 years.

He was elected to each Congress from the Fifty-eighth to the Sixty-second, inclusive, and left the House to enter the Senate, where many of his friends predicted that he would be when the death angel called him to his final reward. He was a conscientious legislator of the Congress, a powerful debater, and one who possessed the oratorical ability to meet any speaker of his day. He was a giant in physique and possessed a striking personality, always attracting attention, no matter what the gathering. At all Democratic meetings in the State and Nation he was one of the most prominent figures and wielded a powerful influence. The public knew OLLIE JAMES as an orator and statesman. As a speaker in a political campaign he had no superior and but very few equals. No person in public life of the age of OLLIE JAMES, in Kentucky or elsewhere, has ever contributed to the history of his State a more distinguished career, not having reached the age of 50. He had served five terms in the House of Representatives and had been chairman of two Democratic national conventions and was rounding out a term in the United States Senate and renominated by a tremendous majority for a second term, receiving the indorsement of the people as no other candidate ever received in Kentucky, and this renomination was tendered him while he was near the end of his career and on his deathbed in the hospital in Baltimore.

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His attention to his duty, his fidelity to his trusts, his ability and his integrity made a deep and lasting impression upon those he served, and the announcement of his passing away brought from the people throughout the entire country the deepest regret and expressions of heartfelt sympathy such as has been rendered to but few who preceded him to the great beyond.

No one of his acquaintances could accuse the Senator of being a politician; so far as I knew, he made no attempt to build for himself a political organization, always relying upon the people, and his faith was never misplaced. He was a power in the Democratic Party and used his influence freely and ably in all the campaigns. However, his purpose was solely for the good of the party he loved and of the policies for which it stood and in which he was a firm believer.

Senator JAMES passed away at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore on the morning of the 28th of last August, where he had made a brave and hard fight against a disease that had claimed him as one of its victims, and only surrendered when his feeble nature was overcome by the inevitable. The familiar figure of Kentucky's Democratic giant will for many years be missed among those who loved the party and the people.

To be admired is an honor which many public men experience, but to be loved and admired by nearly all of one's acquaintances is an honor and distinction that but few men attain. Our friend was one of the rare creatures of God who could claim this distinction.

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Address of Mr. Heflin, of Alabama

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House: The life of an able and faithful public servant is an inspiration and help to the youth of the country and a blessing to his race. The most interesting and helpful history is that which tells the story of success achieved in spite of hardships and hindrances born of ill fortune. The greatest intellects and benefactors of the race have come from the moderately well-to-do and from the ranks of the world's struggling poor. These, by their example, inspire and encourage those who purpose in their hearts to succeed in spite of adverse circumstances.

The House of Representatives is assembled to-day to pay a tribute of love and reverence to the memory of a truly great American, born in Kentucky amidst the hardships and privations of the reconstruction period that followed the War between the States. His parents were poor in the things that make up the sum of this world's goods. His father was a Union soldier and his mother had four brothers in the Confederate Army. At the end of the war his father, like many other soldiers on both sides, had to start life over again amidst hard and trying circumstances.

Ollie James as a boy worked upon the farm and cut wood and made fires and did other work about the home. During spare time he worked for neighbors needing help, making a little money whenever he could. He told me of one of his first experiences, that of carrying brick up a ladder to the workmen on a building for 10 cents a day. He was appointed to the position of page in the Kentucky Legislature when a youth of 14. He was educated in the common schools of Crittenden County and the high school at Marion. He studied law with his father, who had become a splendid lawyer, and was admitted to the bar

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when 20 years old. It was not long until he was recognized as one of the ablest and best young lawyers in Kentucky. Older lawyers who knew him in those days told me that he acquainted himself with the law and with every detail of his case and presented it to court and jury in such masterful fashion that he soon became one of, if not the greatest, trial lawyers in the State.

OLLIE JAMES was born for public service. When 29 years old he was elected chairman of the Democratic State convention of Kentucky, and every four years, from 1896 to 1916, he was elected a delegate from the State at large to the national Democratic convention. In 1912 he was elected chairman of the national Democratic convention at Baltimore, and he presided over its deliberations when Woodrow Wilson was nominated for the office of President. His speech before the convention at Baltimore had so thrilled and electrified the delegates and the country that in 1916 he was the unanimous choice of the President, the national Democratic committee, and the delegates to the national convention, and when the convention assembled at St. Louis he was made its chairman by unanimous vote. His speech on that occasion was the greatest treat and triumph in American oratory that I have ever witnessed. His speech there was even greater than his great speech at Baltimore. When he left the convention at St. Louis, the idol of Democrats from every section, he was acclaimed by all who heard him as the greatest orator in America. Delegates from all over the country told him at St. Louis that he was their choice for President in 1920, and if he had lived I believe that he would have been nominated and elected.

From his youth he cherished the ambition to be a Member of Congress, and when 31 years old he was unanimously elected to the House of Representatives from the largest Democratic district in Kentucky. When I came to

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Congress in 1904 he was serving the last half of his first term. Mr. Speaker, the first time that I ever heard him speak in the House I was drawn to him and wonderfully fascinated by his frank manner, his splendid argument, and pleasing eloquence. Before he had served three terms in the House he had become a leader, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and the ablest and most powerful debater on either side. He was magnetic, courageous, brilliant, and fascinatingly eloquent, and in his service of 16 years in the House and Senate he was the able and faithful friend of the masses and was always the champion of fair and honest government. The people—the plain people, as Lincoln used to call them—never had a better friend in Congress than OLLIE JAMES. He wanted to see everybody have a fair chance in the struggle of life, and no man in my day has done more to bring justice, prosperity, and happiness to the great masses of our people than this big-hearted and brilliant son of Kentucky. At the age of 41 he was elected to the United States Senate from the great State of Kentucky—a State that points with pride to her illustrious Senators, Clay, Bibb, Crittenden, Beck, Carlisle, and Blackburn—great men, all of them, but none greater than he. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that Kentucky ever elected a United States Senator so greatly esteemed and dearly loved by the people of all classes as was her big, brave, and brilliant son, OLLIE JAMES. He loved Kentucky. Every throb of his big heart beat loyal to her. He recounted with pride her loves, traditions, and patriotic incidents and illustrated in his own great life and character the magnificent and enduring qualities of her people.

In the debates in the House and in his speeches on the hustings he had already made a national reputation, and when he took his seat in the Senate Kentucky had in him the ablest and most popular Democrat in that distin-

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guished body. During the first year of his service in the Senate he became the mouthpiece of the Wilson administration, and from that time on until stricken down with illness the President leaned on his strong arm for support.

In February, 1918, when German propaganda was rampant in our country and thoughtless critics in high places were attacking and belittling our Military Establishment, Senator JAMES arose and in a brilliant and powerful speech arraigned a Senator in terrific fashion for certain unwarranted criticism that he had made. It was a great speech—his last speech—and made in support of the administration and in the interest of his country and humanity. He silenced the thoughtless critics, and from that day on till the end of the war no one else over there dared to attack the country or the country's program for the prosecution of the war. For 16 years he had been the pride and idol of the Democrats of Kentucky, and at the time of his death he was the pride and idol of the democracy of America. His great qualities of mind and heart made him the ideal public servant and won for him the admiration and love of the American people. Like Lincoln, he sympathized with the poor and unfortunate, and, like Clay, he pleaded their cause on the hustings and in the House and Senate of the United States. In presenting the doctrine of his party of equal rights to all and special privileges to none I have seen him sway the multitude by the power of his great eloquence and convincing logic. I have seen the House and Senate thrilled and stirred by his wonderful speech, and I have seen President Wilson sit pleased and charmed under the spell of his mighty eloquence. His speeches reflected the splendid genius and brilliancy of his big brain and the sympathy and love of his big, brave heart. In the stormy days of 1910 and 1912 no one man contributed quite so much as he toward electing a Democratic House and Senate and

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a Democratic President. He was in deed and in truth a great leader of men and a man of the people, one that they loved, honored, and trusted. He was the friend of every honest man and the foe of every crook. He loved his country and gave the best years of his life to her service. He was a terror to those who would use public office to pillage and plunder the people. His ideal government is found in these words that he used to quote from Christy's proverbs: "That is the best government in which an injury to one is the concern of all." In his ideal government the welfare of the citizen is the highest concern of all. He fought governmental favoritism and special privilege, and to the day of his death contributed to good government and the welfare of our people. In pleading for the perpetuity of the Republic he said: "The Government must be so fair and square and just to all its people that every heart will love it and every hand defend it." I never knew a man with a keener sense of justice or one who would do and dare more to see justice done in all the walks of life. Mirabeau rendered signal service to his country when in the French Assembly. He defied a proud and haughty nobility and denounced a powerful and unscrupulous clergy, and with the battle-ax of truth broke down the idols that corruption had erected in the temple of liberty. In 1910, when the agents of special privilege infested the Capital and a Cabinet officer was aiding predatory interests in robbing the Government of its coal lands in the West, OLLIE JAMES preached a crusade against the evil and with the battle-ax of truth drove Ballinger from the Cabinet, prevented the plunder of the Government's coal fields, and prepared the way for the coming of Woodrow Wilson and the regeneration of the Federal Government. He helped to frame and pass the great constructive measures that now adorn the

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statutes of our country and bless and benefit the American people.

When the war with Germany threatened and his country called this brilliant son of Kentucky was at the forefront, with head erect and the light of perfect loyalty upon his face—a 100 per cent American. He was for his country in heart, mind, and purpose. His last speech in the Senate was in defense of Americanism and in behalf of human liberty. In that great speech he predicted the overthrow of Germany and the triumph of American arms. He said that our troops would return victorious and amidst the applause of a happy Nation march in triumph down Pennsylvania Avenue. The war ended as he said it would, and our brave boys are going to march down Pennsylvania Avenue, as he predicted. The pity is that he could not live to witness the victory achieved, the home-coming of our boys, and the triumphant march of the American Army. But he has passed from the scene of a busy, brilliant life. He lived up to the full measure of duty and destiny, and at the noontime of life, in the midst of an active, successful, and useful career, he fell asleep, with the blessings and benedictions of the Nation upon him. He was an able, courageous, and conscientious public servant. He devoted his whole time and attention to the duties of his high office. The prosperity and happiness of Kentucky and America constituted the great end and aim of his public career, and no man in my knowledge has contributed more to the strength and glory of his State and Nation than he did during his service in the American Congress. Besides being a great patriot, a great Democrat, and a great orator and statesman, he was a commanding figure, a unique and picturesque character.

He was a man of great personal magnetism and was wonderfully blessed with a fine sense of humor. All in all, I have never known a more attractive and pleasing

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personality or a better, braver man. There was nothing mean nor little in his life. He was the essence of sincerity and the soul of honor. Truly can it be said of him, to know him was to love him. His big heart was a veritable treasure house of the noblest traits and sentiments of the human heart. He was an optimist and always looked upon the bright side of life. To him every cloud had a silver lining. He was of a genial and happy disposition. Life was beautiful to him. He loved it and enjoyed it to the full.

He possessed a big, generous, and sympathetic heart, and no one in distress ever called on him in vain. If all those for whom he has done some act of kindness since he has been in public life in Washington could speak to-day a multitude of witnesses would rise up and bear testimony to the generosity and goodness of his big and loving heart.

Three years ago on Christmas eve day late in the afternoon he walked down Pennsylvania Avenue. Close up by a show window where "Santa Claus" and Christmas toys of every kind were displayed were three little boys whose dress and general appearance told the story of their poor surroundings. The Senator from Kentucky stopped and for a moment looked on with keen interest as the three little boys talked about "Sandy Claus" and the toys in the window.

He could remain silent no longer. The memory of Christmas eve night in his boyhood days came vividly back to him, and he said, "Boys, old 'Santa Claus' will be coming to see you to-night, will he not?" They looked up quickly and shook their heads. He then said, "Do you see anything in the window that you would like to have?" And they all answered quickly and with enthusiasm, "Yes, sir." And he said, "Well, lets go in and see what they have got." They followed, and their little faces were

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wreathed with smiles of perfect joy. He told them to select the toys that they wanted. They did so, and thanked him from the depths of their grateful, happy hearts, and then went running home.

This is only one of the many kindly and beautiful things that this big and noble hearted man did in his day. He loved and honored his father and mother and was warmly devoted to his brother and sisters. For 14 years of happy, uninterrupted friendship I shared his love and blessed comradeship, and he was my most intimate and best loved friend. During the fatal illness that took him away I visited him at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore twice a week as long as the physicians would permit anyone to visit him. He was cheerful and brave to the last. The summons came in August, 1918, and Kentucky's big brave son fell asleep as sweetly and as peacefully as a little babe in its mother's arms. His devoted brother Edgar had watched him and ministered to him till the end came. Mr. Speaker, during his long illness the constant and tender devotion and watchful care of his loving wife was one of the most beautiful and sublime things that I have ever witnessed. She who had been the pride and idol of his heart, his inspiration and joy in health, and had made his home and life supremely happy was now his good angel, keeping vigil at his bedside, speaking words of cheer, praying for his recovery, and blessing him with her love. Happy pair! God never blessed a woman with a better husband or a husband with a better wife, and I know that up yonder, where God's angels' faces smile, she will see again this princely man that she has loved long since but lost a while.

Mr. Speaker, the Bible tells us that in the midst of life we are in death, and this is true. "The finger of the destroying angel is at every latchstring. His foot tracks are in every path."

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I have seen a rosebud in its freshness and beauty bursting into bloom. Then in all its beauty and glory I have seen the full-blown rose basking in the sun and filling the air with its fragrance. And just as I was praising its beauty and enjoying its perfume a gust of wind came. I looked again and the rose was gone. I have seen the meadow, the field, and wood, with carpet of green and buds and blossoms and leafy foliage, stripped of their beauty and verdure in a single night. And I said the rose is like the charm and glory of a beautiful life—just as we bask in its sunshine and are happiest in its presence death calls and the adored one is gone. The buds and blossoms and leafy foliage that bless and adorn the earth every year are like youth, middle life, and old age. Once a year nature sends the frost god to call the buds and blossoms and leaves back to mother earth, and every year death invades the ranks of our friends and loved ones, and from the plains of youth, middle life, and old age God calls His children home. There are broken links in the chain of every family circle, and death has placed crêpe on the doorpost of every home. No one escapes his sad visitation. The old and the young, the high and the low, the rich and the poor must all pass muster at the portals of death. Is death the end of our earthly joys and the final end of us, or is it God's gateway through which we pass into another state of existence, where, freed from the ills of the flesh, we shall enter upon the joys of the life eternal? Is death a thing to be dreaded? Is it the enemy of mankind, or is it, as Plutarch said, "God's greatest gift to man"? At the entrance upon the journey of life is the glorious awakening at the luminous dawn. At the other end is the sunset and the gloaming, where twilight deepens into darkness and we sleep through the night of transition. Death is but the castle at the end of the road where we pause for a moment to shake off the raiment of the

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mortal and put on the robes of immortality. In the time that is to come we shall know and understand.

> O, blindness to the future kindly given,
> That each may fill the circle marked by heaven.

I believe in the resurrection of the dead, as he did, and in the life beyond the grave. My friend OLLIE JAMES is not dead. He has passed into the higher life, and we shall meet again. He was a distinct blessing to his day and generation, and the world is better and brighter because he has lived. America has lost one of her ablest and most faithful sons. Peace to his ashes. God rest his great soul.

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ADDRESS OF MR. KINCHELOE, OF KENTUCKY

Mr. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: When the immortal spirit of OLLIE JAMES, at the Johns Hopkins Hospital the latter part of August, 1918, winged its flight back to the God who gave it, one of the most brilliant stars that ever shed its luster upon the intellectual firmament of Kentucky went out.

Prodigious of stature, endowed with a brilliant mind, unexcelled oratorical powers, and a magnificent voice, he, like Saul, towered above his brethren.

He was born in Crittenden County, Ky., maintained his residence there through life, and his remains were interred beneath a wilderness of flowers in the beautiful little cemetery in the suburbs of Marion.

He was admitted to the bar in early manhood and practiced law extensively for many years, participating in some of the most important and sensational cases ever tried in Kentucky, notable among which was the celebrated contest case of Gov. William Goebel for governor of the State of Kentucky.

When a mere youth he became interested in politics and arose with unparalleled rapidity to distinction in the councils of his party by the force of his own genius. He was always a partisan Democrat, believing in the cardinal principles of the Democratic Party, but at the same time he was always fair and courteous to a political adversary.

He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1896 and a delegate from the State at large from Kentucky to every Democratic national convention since that time. He was elected permanent chairman of the Democratic national convention in 1912 at Baltimore, which nominated Woodrow Wilson for President, and

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was unanimously elected again permanent chairman of the Democratic national convention at St. Louis in 1916, which renominated President Wilson, and was selected by both of the conventions to deliver the speeches of notification of his nomination and renomination. These two honors which came to him are without a parallel in the political history of this Republic. The speeches which he made at those two conventions are political masterpieces and electrified and aroused the delegates of both conventions.

At the age of 31, in 1902, he was elected a Member of Congress from the first congressional district of Kentucky and served in this capacity for 10 years. He arose to prominence almost immediately after beginning his service, was for several years a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and was one of the ablest leaders on the Democratic side.

In a State-wide primary in July, 1911, he was nominated by the Democratic Party of Kentucky for United States Senator and was elected by the Kentucky Legislature to this exalted position the following January. Like in the House, he arose immediately to distinction in the Federal Senate. No Senator was more in the confidence of our great President than he, and the President had no more able champion and defender of his administration than OLLIE JAMES.

It was my good fortune to know OLLIE JAMES intimately, having lived within half a square of him here in Washington ever since I have been in Congress. Every impulse of his being was in sympathy with struggling humanity. He had a heart that was capacitated for an ocean of human love and for human sympathy, as boundless as the fathomless depth of space. His motto always was that the helpless are the ones that need help, and he was continu-

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ally exerting his best endeavors to alleviate the sufferings of those who needed it. I never knew a public servant more diligent, proficient, and faithful in serving his constituents. Every constituent, however humble, could always get an audience with him, and his plea was patiently heard. He not only rendered service to those who needed it, but he did it in a quiet and unassuming way and without the flare of trumpets. As an evidence of his sympathy for those in distress the following incident occurred here in Washington. It was never told by Senator JAMES, but by his secretary, Mr. Vernon Richardson, who witnessed it. About three years ago Mrs. James visited her good friends Mr. and Mrs. Post Wheeler, at Tokyo, Japan. On one Sunday morning she was to meet them in Philadelphia to start on their trip, and Senator JAMES accompanied her as far as Philadelphia on that day. When they arrived at the Union Station here in Washington he saw a lady in mourning sitting in the depot sobbing and apparently in distress. He approached her and asked her the trouble. She replied that she had recently lost her husband and that she was just returning from Lynchburg, Va., where she buried her only daughter, on her way to her home at Jersey City, and on arriving at the station she had lost the balance of her ticket to Jersey City and her pocketbook containing $6, which was the last cent she had. Senator JAMES, without telling anyone, went to the ticket agent and bought her a ticket to Jersey City and gave it to her, together with a $10 bill. When he did this the good woman asked him who it was that was bestowing this great favor upon her, and he replied as he bade her good-by, "It is just a sympathetic friend," and the good woman never knew who it was.

No man was ever more strongly attached to his friends. It was well known, not only in Washington but through-

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out the country, that he and my good friend Congressman J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, were not only devoted to each other but were at times inseparable. Miss Julia O'Donaghue, of Philadelphia, a sister of Mrs. Nancy Doyle, of Washington, who is a very dear friend of Mrs. James, expressed very aptly the devotion of Senator JAMES and Congressman Heflin in the beautiful poem which she wrote, entitled "My Comrade," and dedicated it to the memory of Senator JAMES, which poem is as follows:

Last night, as in a sepulcher of thought
I paced in silent anguish my lone room,
Bemoaning my friend OLLIE; he that fought
To conquer the inevitable doom
That waits on man; he, the proud statesman, bold,
And of gigantic structure, tow'ring height,
Cut off ere his bright gems of thought were told
To man from that rare intellect of might;
Dismember'd in the zenith of his prime
And at a crisis when his word might sway
The hand of tyranny, dissolving crime,
The grief in fields of wretchedness allay,
I asked why death should claim him for its own
And chill a heart all generous and true.
Thus, while I catechized the great unknown,
A spirit presence closely to me drew.
I shudder'd not, but wept with joy. 'Twas he.
We met; ah, not in fear but ecstasy.

Then, slowly, and with deep and res'nant tone,
He spoke: "My Comrade, you whom I have known—
Friend of all friends—oh, do not for me grieve.
Draw near and hearken to me and believe,
Death cut the branches of a withered tree
That it might bloom in immortality.
When I embark'd from out my shattered urn,
I claimed one great request, that I return

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To clasp your hand and speak one word with you.
My time is brief; my words, they must be few.
There is not a dissev'rance of true souls,
Each renders unto each the love it holds.
Great is my love for you, dear Comrade. Trust
That in th' celestial regions of the just
My spirit feels your invocation sent
For justice and your country's betterment.
Submerg'd in darkness are the pow'rs of state,
Soon shall His hand—the great, just Potentate—
Quell the grave madness that o'ershadows earth.
All shall be changed, as in the bow'r of mirth
Man shall abide with man in faith and peace,
Wars amid pestilence forever cease.
I can not tell thee more. I must away.
Adieu! The spirit mandate I obey.
When next we meet—ah, not in life's abyss—
We'll quaff the chalice of eternal bliss.

This beautiful poem aptly expresses the fidelity of this great man not only to Tom Heflin but to all of his legion of friends.

I was at his bedside several times in the beginning of his last illness and saw him at the hospital in Baltimore shortly before the end. He suffered intensely, but was always cheerful and faced the inevitable in the same spirit in which he faced the problems of life—coolly and bravely.

He was one of the most epideictic and panegyric orators of his time. On the political hustings he could arouse the enthusiasm of his audiences as no other man. He was one of the ablest champions of the principles of the Democratic Party that this Nation had. Struggling humanity never had a more devoted and competent leader.

I have often thought since his death that his old father, stooped with the load of years and bending under the burden of sorrow and grief, should take some consolation

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in the fact that his life was spared long enough to see his boy reach the exalted position in life which he did. The pages of Kentucky and American history will be made brighter by the endeavors of OLLIE JAMES.

I shall cherish his memory and the intimate associations with him in the sentiment of the poet when he said:

> Long, long be my heart with such memories filled,
> Like a vase in which roses have long been distilled;
> You may shatter, you may break the vase if you will,
> But the scent of the roses will hang around it still.

His life was a benediction to all of those who were fortunate enough to possess his friendship and enjoy his association.

Mr. Johnson of Kentucky took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

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Address of Mr. Madden, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: Ollie James was a great American. His name is known from ocean to ocean. He was a great Democrat; but while a great Democrat and advocating Democratic policies he was still a greater American. His political beliefs were based on fundamentals, but his Americanism was based on the heart that believed that no men in all the world were such friends to humanity as Americans.

It was my privilege to know Senator James long before he dreamed of becoming a Senator. We came here together, I think, and served together during his service in the House.

Notice that Ollie James was going to speak always brought an audience to the floor. Sometimes—in fact, frequently— it happens that notice that a certain Member is going to speak clears the House of all but those who are ashamed to go, but Ollie James was always an attraction as an orator. He was clean of habit; he had a logical mind; he was a good speaker, a profound reasoner, and he had the ability to express his thoughts more forcibly than any other man with whom I have associated during my term in this House.

He was physically and mentally great. His mentality was not less great than his physical powers. He was a man of simple habits. His treatment of all questions was frank. He was truthful in his dealings with men. His integrity was well understood everywhere. He had a model character, of which everyone who knew him was proud. He lived a life that everyone could afford to emulate. He had a great record as a public servant. That record will stand in history for all time to come. It will

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be an inspiration in the future for those who are to act upon questions similar to those involved in the activities that Senator JAMES was called upon to indulge in.

Senator JAMES was a true lover of America and her institutions. He was devoted to everything that bore the name "America." He believed that the word "American" should mean more as the result of our participation in this war than it ever meant before. He wanted to see the American flag respected in every land and upon every sea, and he wanted America to give all she had and all that she was to preserve her honor. He wanted the institutions of America to be preserved and protected. He wanted them handed down without stain to the generations that are to people this continent in the ages to come. He believed in the kind of patriotism that loves the country; that is loyal to the well-being of the country. He believed that patriotism should be as strong as the love of a son for mother; that we should make any sacrifice for the Nation that gave us birth and which we have the honor to serve without hope of reward. His was a public life devoted to America's cause. His life was inspired by a desire to do the thing that would best promote the welfare of our country and our people. He was not only willing to have the country make any sacrifice to that end, but was willing to make any sacrifice himself for his country. I have always had the greatest admiration for the Americanism of Senator JAMES as exemplified in word and deed.

No man in the history of my experience was better qualified to express his beliefs in the spoken language than was OLLIE JAMES. No audience could listen to him without being convinced of his sincerity. No audience could sit at the feet of such an orator without being inspired by his eloquence.

OLLIE JAMES, like other boys who started without hope of success, is but another evidence that America is the

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land of opportunity; that here, and here alone, such a thing as the success achieved by OLLIE JAMES and men of his ability and eloquence is possible, because here alone the people rule. Here the power comes up from the people to the State, and while the people elect men to office for a temporary period and give them power the people themselves always remain the governing authority, and it is because men rise from poverty and obscurity and can understand the trend of the thought of the people with whom they associate that they reach the high places in the life of our Government. In no other land can such a thing be possible, because in other lands the rights of the people heretofore have come down from the State to the people. OLLIE JAMES realized that in other lands they depend upon the sword and the cannon for the maintenance of the government, while here in America he realized full well, and practiced what he realized, that our Government is maintained by the citizen's respect for the law. OLLIE JAMES was not only a good lawmaker, but he understood how these laws should be enforced. He understood that laws should not be oppressive. He knew how to sympathize with the common mass. His mind met the mind of the common man.

He was a great man. He was simple, as all great men are. It is only the man who thinks himself great and refuses to come into contact with the masses, lest they might undersand that he is not so, who fails to understand the masses. OLLIE JAMES was not one of these. He understood them as few men do. His record, his life, the words that he had uttered, will live to inspire those who are yet to follow. I am proud to have known him, to have understood him, to have been permitted to associate with him, to have loved him, as I did, for his integrity of purpose, for his honesty, for his high character, for his American-

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ism, for his devotion to his country's cause, for his unselfishness, for his sacrifice in behalf of others.

I believe, too, that this is not the end of life; that we are yet to meet in another place. I believe that when the soul is separated from the clay of the body it moves onward to perform other and more important functions, and that we who have been proud in days gone by to have associated with OLLIE JAMES and to have participated with him in the work of government will meet again to separate no more forever.

Mr. Kincheloe took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

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Address of Mr. Sherley, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House: Kentucky has always been a State made up of men of marked characteristics. Their faults and their virtues are obvious, outstanding, and of their virtues the greatest lies in their individuality, an individuality that makes them act from a free, untrammeled standpoint, and as a result Kentucky has been the forum ever since it was a part of this great Union, a forum for the settlement of the great issues that have vexed the people of this Nation. And it is a forum where they settle issues in a forensic way. There are fought out before the people the issues of the day and of the time. Flowing from this habit, during Kentucky's entire history there have always arisen great leaders, great orators, but, even more than orators, great debaters, men who were able to present their view of those questions.

For 25 years in Kentucky's recent history one man stood out foremost as the orator and debater of Kentucky in the highest sense of those terms. Ollie James came into prominence in Kentucky before he held office. He was a power in political conventions before he was old enough to vote. He helped to influence and determine party complexion, party platform, long before he spoke with the advantage of position and of the power that flows from position.

In 1896 he became a national figure as he had been a State figure for many years before. No one who attended that memorable Democratic convention in Chicago, who remembers the stormy scenes, who knows, as all of us who have had some part in public life know, that underneath the speech making, underneath the routine of the convention is being done much of the great work that determines

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the result of a convention, can forget the figure of OLLIE JAMES, his heroic size, his determination, his zeal. His was the zeal of a crusader for a cause that he believed in and for a man that he believed in, and that made him one of the dominating figures of that remarkable convention. From 1896 on there was no great national scene of his party in which he was not a prominent, and frequently the most prominent, figure. In the four succeeding conventions he had a leading part and in the past two was chosen permanent chairman, and as such delivered speeches that will live as models of convention eloquence.

OLLIE JAMES and I came into public national life together in the Fifty-eighth Congress, he representing a rural constituency, I a city one, with the necessary differences of local viewpoints that grow out of different environments, but during all of these years that service only brought us closer together, and to-day I feel like speaking of him, not so much as a statesman—others can more splendidly portray his achievements than I—but as a friend. I saw his growth.

Men who come into public life, particularly into the Congress of the United States, either grow very much or they deteriorate very much. No man stands still in the Congress of the United States. The forces that here meet and contend are too dynamic for men to remain in fixed positions. Either they are moved forward to broader, bigger, deeper things, or they fall back into obscurity from which by chance they may have come. From the hour that he came here he was an influence—an orator, yes; but I think of OLLIE not as an orator as we usually use that term, but as a debater. I know no man who had a more ready adaptability to meet an issue as it might be presented on the moment; and no man had more capacity to sum up, at the end of a debate, and present the real factors that should determine judgment.

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And so he grew constantly here, broadening his viewpoint. He was always sympathetic, always in touch with the real aspirations of the people of the country, the everyday sort of folk. As his horizon broadened, as his opportunity grew, so grew his knowledge of need and of cause and of complex conditions that confront men who really endeavor to solve the problems of a great empire like this.

Placed always on important committees, he never needed them. They were simply a medium for him, but not a necessity to him. The House of Representatives and the Committee of the Whole were his forum. Here he could command an audience and a result, not because he spoke as a member of some committee having the matter in charge, but because he brought to the consideration of the question judgment and thought and information that were of value to the House.

It was inevitable from the beginning that he should go from here to the Senate. It was inevitable that Kentucky should give to him the highest honor that she could. And from the very day he sought her favor, not for himself, but in order that he might serve her, she never faltered in her loyalty to him. When OLLIE JAMES offered himself for the Senate no one ever questioned that he would be nominated, no one ever questioned that he would be elected. Yet the State is one of doubtful political allegiance.

As a Senator he immediately took first rank, and on many occasions proved himself there, as he had so often in the House, the peer of all his opponents. He became the foremost champion of the administration, but he was more than this. He was the champion of his country, in a sense broader than a mere party champion, and in her days of stress his voice was ever raised to fan into whiter heat the flame of the people's patriotism. An American whose devotion to country had no qualifying factor, his love of the right, his sympathy for the weak and op-

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pressed, caused him literally to dedicate himself to the furtherance and success of a war that he knew was waged only for righteousness' sake. His fine scorn of those who sought to temporize with great fundamental issues, through fear of political results, burst forth again and again in words of scathing denunciation.

It was in the midst of this intense activity that illness overtook him. He chafed at an enforced idleness that denied him the opportunity of further service when service meant so much. Kentucky followed day by day the news of his health, hoping and praying for his recovery. Had he been spared how gladly she would have given him again to the service of his country. He could have continued as a Senator of the United States as long as he desired, and he would have continued adding to his fame and to the fame of his State if the end had not come so suddenly and so tragically for him and for us.

No man ever gave more generously of himself than he did. Few except those who knew him intimately knew to what extent he gave of his vitality, of his time, of his thought, to help those who were his friends and those whose cause he believed in. Perhaps beyond any other man whom I can recall he has lifted his voice on behalf of his party and his party's candidates, not only at home, not only where it might be thought to be worth while to himself, but everywhere, at any time that he thought he might be of real service. The day was never too disagreeable, the journey never too long or difficult, and nothing caused him to refuse. It was because of that continuous outpouring of himself, that giving of all that was in him, that perhaps the end came when it did come.

He died while yet a young man. And yet length of life is not all. We like to think of men living their full span of life, their threescore years and ten. And yet when men are judged they are not judged by length of life, but by

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achievement. OLLIE JAMES compressed within the forty-odd years of his life more of service to humanity, more of achievement for his country, more that makes life worth while, than is given to many men who live twice that long. To those of us who knew him and loved him his loss means something more than the passing of a great national figure. It means something more than a realization that it is difficult to fill his place and to carry on his work. It means the loss of the sympathy, the friendship, and the personal help that will always be to us the most cherished memory of a splendid, loving friend, a man of noble heart.

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Address of Mr. Barkley, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: Death claimed a shining mark when Ollie M. James crossed the silent river which divides us from the broad eternity that stretches out beyond. If one short year ago I had been asked to name those public men whose careers would be prematurely shortened in the next 12 months his name would have been absent from the list. So strong and vigorous he appeared, so full of life and boyish zest he was, so sure of long tenure of office and distinguished service he had a right to feel, that we never associated him with thoughts of death.

Yet it but illustrates the truth, which is as old as humanity, that—

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> All that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour;
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

The death of no man in recent years has produced more genuine and universal sorrow in Kentucky than that of Senator James. When the sad news, not wholly unexpected, was flashed across the wires to the people of Kentucky men and women of all shades of political belief paused to mourn the loss of their most distinguished public servant. The rich, the poor, the ignorant, and the lettered alike mingled their tears in a grief which all men felt but none could express. The banker, the merchant, the professions, the plowman, the fireman in his cab, the blacksmith at his anvil, the carpenter at his bench, the schoolboy at his desk, the mother whose son had gone to fight and die for the land he loved and honored, all turned their thoughts to the stalwart and familiar figure now fallen and to be seen no more.

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I shall not attempt to review at length his public career. That is the task of the historian, who by the nature of his calling and equipments can do fuller and more complete justice to the subject. But I can not refrain from reciting a few of the characteristics which made OLLIE JAMES one of the most beloved and popular men of his time.

I am not old enough to recall the time when he was not a commanding figure in the politics of Kentucky. When the great Byran campaign of 1896 was gathering force and strength, though but 25 years of age, OLLIE JAMES had been chairman of the Kentucky delegation at the convention which nominated him. Mr. Bryan once told me that one of the impressive things which he always remembered about that convention was the massive figure of OLLIE JAMES leading the Kentucky delegation in starting the famous "march of States," which had much to do with the Nebraskan's nomination for President. It was entirely fitting that Mr. Bryan should remember this incident, for from that day forward he had no more loyal or devoted follower than the man from Marion.

The first time I ever saw Mr. JAMES was during this famous campaign. I can never forget the impression he made on my boyish mind. It was on a train, and he had been somewhere to make a Democratic speech. I thought I had never seen a man so large or one who filled so completely my ideas of what a Congressman ought to look like. At that time he had never held a public office. But it was inevitable that sooner or later he would enter public life, for he was fitted by nature, equipment, and inclination for the political leadership which he afterwards enjoyed.

In 1902 he was elected from the first congressional district of Kentucky, known as the Gibraltar district on account of its great Democratic majority, to a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. By rea-

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son of his great size, which always made him a central figure, his magnificent voice, his powers of keen and quick repartee, he soon become recognized as one of the leading debaters in Congress. His support was welcomed by those with whom he agreed and feared by those whom he opposed. During the 10 years of his service in the House his personality was so impressed upon the people of Kentucky and his ability was so universally recognized that he was elected to the Senate practically without opposition, and while his service in the House had been marked by a constant growth in experience and broadening of vision I think it may be truthfully said that his greatest services to democracy and to the Nation were rendered as a Member of the United States Senate.

In the Democratic convention which met in Baltimore in 1912 Mr. JAMES favored the nomination of Champ Clark for President. He had been largely instrumental in swinging Kentucky into line for Speaker Clark. While this was well known by all the opposing candidates, such was the esteem in which he was held by them that he was made the permanent chairman of the convention. This convention ultimately nominated Woodrow Wilson for President, and from that time until the day of his death no President and no administration ever received more constant or unswerving support than President Wilson received from OLLIE JAMES. He became not only his trusted spokesman on the floor of the Senate but his adviser in many matters of which the public did not always hear, and his advice and counsel were always held in great esteem by the President.

His last public appearance in the Senate was in response to what he believed to be his duty, when the President and the whole Government were viciously attacked in regard to the conduct of the war, around which revolved our hopes as a Nation, if not the welfare of civilization itself.

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While others might seek to destroy the people's confidence in their chosen leaders in a great crisis, he chose to hold aloft the banner of his country. While others might seek for selfish and political purposes to tear down the miraculous achievements of a peace-loving Nation called to arms, he chose to uphold the President in his great task as leader of a free Nation and Commander in Chief of its Army and Navy. This speech was one of the greatest of his career. It revealed him more clearly than ever, not as a politician, nor as a self-seeker after the plaudits of the moment, but as a statesman, a patriot of vision and imagination in whose heart burned the fires of devotion to the ideals for which millions were ready to die.

During the nearly 16 years in which OLLIE JAMES was a Member of the House and Senate he never forgot whom he was sent here to serve. He knew that he was elected by the people to represent them and their interests. He knew that the people had confidence in him, and he knew, as all men knew, that he would never knowingly violate that confidence nor betray their interests. Neither the temptations of wealth nor the seductive voice of flattery could wean him from his interest in the common man; and I have seen his indignation rise like a menacing storm when he discovered the strong and powerful seeking to fasten some form of injustice upon the poor and the weak. It is not strange that he was the idol of the rank and file of his party in Kentucky and the Nation. He was their friend. He represented them whenever they needed a spokesman or defender.

He looked beyond the domes of capitols, beyond the surging pit of selfish, grasping greed, which sought special favors not enjoyed by all, and saw the force and caught the inspiration of what President Wilson so recently described as "The strong tide running in the hearts of men."

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Kentucky has throughout her history been known as the home of statesmen and orators. Not only has she sent to the forum of national life a long and illustrious list of great men; she has poured her rich blood into every State of the Union. History, tradition, and romance have mingled to make the true Kentuckian a little different from other types of men. Mental and physical courage, chivalry, a strong sense of justice, pride in ancestry, and love of native land have combined to form in that fair State the nearest approximation of the typical man. Historians have wondered at and sought to explain the mystery which seems to be fused from soil and air and stream and sky into the men and women of our State. But we need not tarry long in attempting to analyze it. The inspiration of such a history, of such romantic traditions, of such sacrifices, of such devotion to the highest ideals of our race, of such beauty of face and character and landscape, sweeps us on and up toward the goal of human perfection. The life stories of her great men and women accumulate to enrich the experience and inspire the hopes of each succeeding generation; and each generation adds its towering figure to shed light upon the groping footsteps of the next. Such a figure was OLLIE JAMES.

Among all the names which have made Kentucky a household word throughout the Nation none could catch with more unerring judgment the throbbing heart of the masses. He knew the people, because he had grown up with them and had endured with them and shared their hardships. His heart was big and full in sympathy with them.

And this trait, Mr. Speaker, is one that lingers in our memory when we think of Mr. JAMES. We can not forget his bigness of heart. In his sympathies he was as tender as a woman. He never became calloused to the griefs and sorrows of humanity. I stood with him once at

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the railroad station in Lexington when a poor woman alighted from the train in mourning and in tears. Senator JAMES looked on for a moment, then turned to me, with tears in his own eyes, and said, "Isn't it terrible to see a woman weep like that?" This touch of humanity softened and sweetened his outlook upon life and drew to him a host of devoted and admiring friends.

So, whether we measure him as statesman, as lawyer, as citizen, as son, brother, husband, or friend, he measured up to the full stature of greatness. His name will be entwined in the deepening memory of the people of his native State; and when men foregather to dwell upon the richness and fragrance of our historic men and traditions their minds will turn to the name of OLLIE JAMES. He will be missed in the Senate; he will be missed in Washington, where every man, woman, and child knew him by sight; he will be missed in national conventions, where his voice and figure inspired the enthusiasm of delegates; he will be missed on the stump in Kentucky and throughout the Nation; he will be missed in the councils of his party, where his judgment and wisdom were acknowledged. He will be missed in the great Gibraltar district of west Kentucky, which he honored and which delighted to honor him. He will be missed in many a courthouse in Kentucky, where anxious and enthusiastic crowds surged and clamored to hear his voice. He will be missed in the hearts of all who knew and loved him. We honor his memory, and thus we honor ourselves. We honor him as statesman, as citizen, as friend. We honor him for his great gifts of mind; but we honor him more for his great gifts of heart. We honor him for his work as legislator and orator; but we honor him more for the knowledge that he held firm to the principles instilled into his heart at his mother's knee, which made him incorruptible in every relationship of life. We honor him as public

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servant and as man. Nature will soon carpet his grave with green and loving hands will journey there to lay sweet flowers upon it. But in our hearts his memory will live forever fresh and sweet, until the trumpets shall call us to the shores of that land beyond the stars.

A man,
Too little to count in the plan,
I do my destiny day by day,
I live my life and I go my way,
And what does it matter? And yet—and yet—
The child or the deed which I beget
May alter the course of human history.
A man? Ah, yes; but a mystery.

A man,
A being of briefest span.
Just one of the myriad millions spawned
Who have fluttered a moment and swept beyond
Into seeming nothingness. Yet, ah, yet,
Some word I may utter and half forget
May echo along to eternity's portal.
A man? But perhaps an immortal.

A man,
Whose race, since time began,
Nadir to zenith and brink to brink,
Is hardly more than the hasty wink
Of a deity's eyelid. And yet—and yet—
In this infinitesimal self is set
This boundless thought we have called infinity.
A man? But why not a divinity?

And as we think about the passing of Senator JAMES at the noontide of his life we can but recall that beautiful stanza in the poem "Crossing the Bar":

Twilight and evening bell,
  And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell
  When I embark;
For tho' from out this bourne of time and place
  The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
  When I have crost the bar.

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Address of Mr. Austin, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker: We are here to eulogize one of Kentucky's great sons, Ollie M. James, for 10 years an active, useful, and influential Democratic leader in this House until a grateful people rewarded him by an election to the United States Senate, where he won by zeal, ability, and worth high rank as a leader among leaders.

Those of us who observed his conduct as a Member of the House of Representatives willingly bear testimony to his unceasing devotion to the interests of his constituents, his usefulness in promoting beneficial legislation for the Nation, and his influence and power as a popular leader.

In debate he was able, eloquent, and convincing; a strong partisan, but a fair and manly opponent; a political gladiator, who fought in the open, scorning to take an unfair advantage and never asking for quarter; a believer in everything Democracy stood for, but, above party fealty, he was first, last, and all the time an American. He was genial, whole-souled, and generous. He was as true as steel to his friends, and they were countless in both political parties. His fame was not confined to his beloved State, for he was known and admired throughout the Republic. His eloquent voice was heard North and South in national campaigns, and his attendance for years at Democratic national conventions brought him in touch with the leaders of his party from every State in the Union.

In and out of Congress his political advice was sought and followed, and his death was a great loss to the party he delighted to honor and to serve.

He was the idol of the Kentucky Democracy, and his hold upon the loyalty and affections of the people was never broken. The people believed in him. They had

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reasons for trusting him. They had unwavering confidence in his sincerity, his honesty, his courage, and his leadership. They followed him with the same fidelity, loyalty, and enthusiasm as the people of Kentucky had in former years followed their great "Harry of the West"—Henry Clay.

In every position of trust and responsibility, in private and public life, Senator JAMES did his duty—his full duty. His career was one of usefulness—unselfishness—and his busy life full of private and public deeds which will be remembered and cherished.

We were from adjoining sister States, which have much in common, and during our joint service in this body were personal friends. While we were not in political accord, I admired Senator JAMES for his many noble qualities; for his open, frank, manly methods; for always having the courage of his convictions; for his great ability; for his untiring work for his district and State; for his fair and courteous conduct toward his political opponents; for his fealty to party pledges; for his loyalty to the Republic, and for his love for and tenderness to his devoted wife.

Mr. Speaker, a Tennessee friend offers this brief but heartfelt tribute of respect to the memory of OLLIE M. JAMES, the brave, generous, and knightly son Kentucky gave the Republic, to whose interest he was ever loyal and devoted.

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Address of Mr. Cantrill, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: When the angel of death took the hand of Ollie James to lead him into the great unknown the State of Kentucky bade farewell to her most illustrious and beloved son and our Nation lost one of her noblest and most patriotic servants.

No word spoken here to-day can add anything to the fame of Ollie M. James, of Kentucky. His place is secure in the history of our Nation and his memory will be forever cherished in the hearts of our countrymen.

That death loves a shining mark is forcibly illustrated in the early passing of Senator James. Struck down by disease and death at the age of 47, yet he had attained a reputation of national scope and was beloved and trusted by millions of his fellow citizens throughout the length and breadth of our great Republic. To be known, honored, and loved so universally at such an age could mean but one thing, and that was that he was a man of unusual ability and of great force of character. To be loved as Senator James was loved by the American people means that he had in his big heart love of the noblest type for his country and for humanity. No man can be genuinely loved by his people unless the people know and realize his genuine love for them and their interests. In my opinion, the greatest trait in the character of Senator James was his love for his fellow men and his earnest desire at all times to help them onward and upward.

During the last year of his life I have seen him drag himself to the departments here at Washington to speak a word for his friends in trouble—time after time—when it was evident that deadly disease had fastened on him and that his prime duty was to himself. Yet, in disease, he forgot himself, and was always ready and anxious to

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help others. His heart was so big that there was always a place for the one in trouble, whether friend or stranger. Well do I remember seeing the tears stream down his cheeks when appealing for help for one who had been his loyal friend. Kind of heart as a child yet possessing the courage of a lion to defend his convictions against all comers—and with what great eloquence did he speak his thoughts and convictions. His was the eloquence which swept all before it and brought multitudes to their feet as he pleaded his cause with logic and power of speech that could not be resisted. And be it said always that his power as an orator was used in protecting the interests of the great common people of his country, who by the millions looked to him as their champion in times of stress.

No man in the American Congress during the last 10 years could hold the attention of his colleagues or of the country by his spoken word and magnetic power as closely as did Senator JAMES. Read his speeches during his terms in the House of Representatives and his term in the Senate and you will always find an earnest and eloquent plea for the oppressed or a patriotic appeal for the safety and betterment of his country. His mind and heart were too big for little things, and when he spoke the Nation listened. During his service in the House and Senate Senator JAMES was ever recognized as the spokesman of his party when great questions of party policy were debated, and when his country was assailed party friend and party foe alike looked to him as their leader to voice their sentiments with his characteristic force and natural eloquence, and never once in his career as a public servant did he fail those who believed in him.

When OLLIE JAMES died the poor and oppressed of the land lost their greatest champion. When he passed over the river thousands of homes in this great land of ours

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felt that a personal loss had befallen them, and the funeral train as it sped to his home in Kentucky was met at every station by hundreds and thousands with tears and sympathy. At one station hundreds of miles away from his old home a working woman crowded her way through the crowd and, placing a small coin in the hands of one of the Senator's friends, requested that he buy a flower and place it on the grave when the body of the great statesman was laid away in the soil that gave him birth. A tribute like this from a working woman in a distant State would have been prized by Senator JAMES more than tributes from kings and potentates, and this humble woman's tribute to his memory was more eloquent and spoke in greater volume for his great career as a statesman and champion of human rights than we can speak here to-day.

During the ten years that OLLIE JAMES served in the House of Representatives and his six years in the Senate he was assigned to the highest places of leadership and statesmanship, and never a single time did he fail to measure up to the expectations of his friends and of the patriotic citizens of his country. As he lay on his sick bed he was given an overwhelming vote of confidence by his party in Kentucky for its leadership for another six years in the Senate. What a calamity for his native State and his country that death did not permit him to carry out the wishes of his friends and admirers.

Shortly after the election in 1916 I called a conference of some of his friends at Louisville, at which Senator JAMES was present, and suggested that we form an organization to present his name at the proper time to the country as a candidate for President in 1920. The plan was rejected by Senator JAMES over the protest of his friends, but I believed then, and believe now, that had he permitted us to have carried out our plans that in the next

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election, had he lived, he would have been looked on with favor as the standard bearer of our party. Having been the spokesman of his party in the last two national conventions, where is the man in the Nation to-day who could have had a greater claim to the confidence and love and trust of the American people?

All who knew Senator JAMES loved and trusted him. That love was never betrayed and that trust was never misplaced. Beginning early in life a public career, as the years swiftly passed new honors were rapidly conferred on him, and rapidly his fame grew from that of the idol of his party in his native State to the trusted leader and spokesman of his party in the Nation.

We are proud that Kentucky gave him to the Nation. His last speech was a wonderful oration, defending the honor of his country and worthy of the greatest traditions of that glorious flag of our beloved country.

The body of OLLIE M. JAMES lies in the soil of the country in the old Kentucky home which gave him birth, but his spirit moves on, inspiring those left behind to higher and nobler things. The great and honorable career of Senator OLLIE M. JAMES will be an incentive to Kentuckians and Americans yet unborn to labor for the highest ideals of democracy and the betterment of humanity. The devoted wife and the idolizing father and brother and sister left behind have the deepest sympathy of all who knew and loved OLLIE JAMES, and if on this occasion they could speak millions of loyal, patriotic American citizens would wish them Godspeed.

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Address of Mr. Langley, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: In the passing of Ollie James Kentucky lost one of its greatest men, his political opponents one of their most dangerous antagonists, and the country one of its most faithful and efficient public servants. It was my pleasure to have known him from our boyhood. He was a page in the General Assembly of Kentucky when I was dubbed the "kid" of that body, having barely reached the constitutional age of eligibility, and a strong friendship grew up between us then that continued uninterrupted until his death. Many years afterwards, when I was a candidate for the lower House of Congress and he for the Senate we met in joint debate in one of the mountain towns of my district. In my reply to his speech I contended that he was too fat to make an efficient page and at the same time admitted that I was too young to make an efficient member of the legislature. This humorous reference to his abnormal size was enjoyed by no one in the audience more than by himself, which illustrated his genial, jolly temperament—a characteristic which followed him throughout his life and endeared him to so many people.

It seems but a little while ago when I saw an overgrown country boy of magnificent proportions toddling up and down the aisles of the old assembly hall at Frankfort, and yet when I take a retrospect of all the busy years that have followed I realize how rapidly the wheels of Time are turning. I recall that even while Ollie James was a page he displayed those qualities that afterwards made him a leader of men. He organized the pages into a debating society, or rather into an organization patterned after that of the house. Ollie was, of course, elected speaker, and he ruled like a real czar. I recall that one of the boys

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remarked that he was not only speaker but floor leader as well. I only mention these incidents in the hope that I may, by reason of this personal acquaintance, shed a side-light upon some phases of his life and character that his other eulogists may not have had the opportunity of learning. I served with him for many years in Congress and we always worked in harmony for the best interests of Kentucky in all local matters. We differed very radically along political lines, but we never forgot the memories of our early friendship. While he was intensely partisan he had a mentality and a heart in keeping with his magnificent physique and the generosity of his nature largely overshadowed the intensity of his political tendencies.

As a Member of the lower House I do not know quite so much of his service in the Senate except that it was of a most conspicuous character, commanding the attention of the entire country. He told me once in private conversation that he declined the nomination for the Vice Presidency and refused to permit the use of his name for the presidential nomination. I believe, however, that had he lived he would have been named by his party as its candidate for the Presidency.

I am sure I shall be pardoned for another personal reminiscence. Mrs. Langley and I made a trip with Senator and Mrs. JAMES to the Hawaiian Islands some years ago. While I knew his power as an orator, politician, and statesman, I had not had an earlier opportunity to know so much of the personal side of his home life. His gallantry and devotion to Mrs. James, one of Kentucky's most beautiful women, will be one of my lasting memories of him. To the end of his life he bore an outward geniality seeming to seek to dispel the fear of his friends as to the seriousness of his illness, and it may be truly said of him that he heeded that admonition—

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Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying,
And this same flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying.

In closing this brief tribute to my friend I want to say that his taking off, a good many years before his natural time, leaves many people in many walks of life, especially his constituency of the Old Commonwealth and his colleagues in Congress, deeply grieved for the loss of him.

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Address of Mr. Fields, of Kentucky

Mr. Speaker: It is appropriate that we assemble here on this Sabbath day out of respect for and to commemorate the public service of Ollie M. James, late a Senator from Kentucky; but nothing that we can say will add to the splendid record which he made for himself as a public servant and statesman.

Mr. James was brought up in western Kentucky and first attracted the attention of the State as a page in the Kentucky Legislature when a mere lad.

During the session of the legislature in which he served as a page it was learned that he possessed the ability to speak, and members of that body amused themselves by assembling in the hall of the house of representatives each day, or frequently, 30 minutes before the convening of the session to have him address them, the privilege to do so being granted to him by consent of the members and the house officials. And in those speeches he convinced all who heard him that he possessed natural ability as an orator, that he was full of courage and fairly ablaze with enthusiasm and possessed the qualities of leadership, which elements destined him to be a great man and a great leader among men.

By the time he had reached the age of 25 he was recognized throughout Kentucky as one of the State's greatest lawyers, its greatest speaker, and as his party's champion.

At the age of 31 he was nominated by the Democrats of the first congressional district of Kentucky and elected to Congress. His election, however, was not regarded as the victory of the first district alone, but as the victory of his party throughout the State, for at that age he had spoken throughout Kentucky from the Mississippi to the Big Sandy and from the Ohio River to the Tennessee line

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and was, therefore, acquainted with the entire State and was idolized by his own party and respected by his political opponents for his ability and courage.

In Congress he soon became a leader and a national figure. He wielded a dominating influence in the organization of the Sixty-second Congress and was a leader in the measures enacted during that Congress. He retired from the House at the end of the Sixty-second Congress to enter the United States Senate, where he was again recognized as a leader and where he was from the beginning the champion of the policies and measures of the national administration.

Time will not permit me to recount or refer to many of his achievements, but it is sufficient to say that the fact that he was chosen to preside over the Democratic national presidential conventions of 1912 and 1916 is conclusive of the high esteem in which he was held by his countrymen. And, Mr. Speaker, I pause here to say that had he lived he in all probability would have been the nominee of the next presidential convention of his party instead of its presiding officer, but, alas, the hand of death levied its toll upon him, and the spirit which made him great returned to the God who gave it.

OLLIE M. JAMES was a man of superior mental and physical strength and stern in his dealings with competing forces, but tender-hearted and sympathetic in his dealings with those who needed assistance and apparently never as happy as when administering to the needs of those who were unable to care for themselves.

He was a hard student of national and international questions, but along with these duties it was remarkable how closely he looked after matters of detail. He was always ready to give such time as was necessary to constituents and friends whose interests needed his attention in the various departments of the Government, and the

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success of his friends in matters of that kind always made him happy.

Mr. Speaker, I shall never forget the last time I ever accompanied him on a departmental errand. It was the day before his mother's death, which occurred only a few months before his death. On that occasion I accompanied him to the Department of Justice in the interest of a constituent in whom we both were interested. As soon as I met him I observed that he was not normal, but that he was apparently greatly disturbed. I had been with him but a few minutes when he told me that he was greatly worried; said he had dreamed the night before that his mother was dangerously ill, and that the family had wired him to hurry to her bedside. "The dream," he continued, "woke me, and I could not go to sleep again, as a result of which I had an early breakfast and went to my office earlier than usual, trying all the time to dismiss and forget the dream that I had had, as I had no word that my mother was ill. But soon after my arrival at the office my wife called me by phone and informed me that she had received a telegram to me from my sister stating that mother was dangerously ill and for me to come at once." He, with Mrs. James, left for Kentucky on the first train at 2 o'clock that afternoon. I accompanied them as far as my home town in Kentucky and talked with him a goodly portion of the afternoon and evening, and many times during our conversations he referred to his dream of the night previous, which seemed to impress him that his mother would not recover, and that he would not reach her bedside before death laid its claim upon her. I read in the Louisville papers the next evening that a telegram had been delivered to him by the conductor in charge of the train announcing the death of his mother. He was hurrying to her bedside, but the guardian angel with his

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"steeds of wind and chariot of fire" preceded him to the old home and bade her go before his arrival.

He was then in the prime of life, the vigor of manhood, and apparently in the best of health, and little did I think that my next journey to Kentucky would be to accompany his remains to their last resting place. But who can prophesy against death or foretell its coming, even to the strong and vigorous?

His death, his going, in what seemed to be the middle of an unexcelled career cast a gloom over the Nation and filled the hearts of the men, women, and children of his native State with sorrow and sadness.

After the funeral train which bore his remains and the funeral party crossed the Kentucky line at the Big Sandy River it was met by vast crowds at practically every station, hoping and asking for an opportunity to look once more upon the face of him who until a few hours before had been for many years Kentucky's foremost citizen. There was strong contention from every crowd, from everywhere, that his remains should be interred in the State cemetery at Frankfort, that the State might continue to claim all that was left of him. With that contention I did not agree. He had served his State and the Nation, and served them well; but that service having been concluded, I felt, and now feel, that it was fitting and proper that his remains be returned to his family and childhood associates, who had first claim upon him, and be laid to rest, as they were, at the feet of his mother, who gave him to the State and the Nation. But it matters not where rest his remains; his memory will live in the hearts of the people of Kentucky.

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Address of Mr. Clark, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Senator Ollie M. James was a masterful man. He died while still in the prime of his splendid powers—in the very flower of his years. He was a typical Kentuckian and was therefore very popular in Kentucky—his native State. Since Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, John C. Breckinridge, and John G. Carlisle, he was probably the most popular man in Kentucky. Yet young as he was, his fame breaking over State lines made him a popular national figure. He served in both House and Senate and stood in the front rank in both. I heard an old farmer say once that no man can be truly denominated popular until he was generally called by his Christian name. If that be the correct test, Senator James was certainly one of the most popular men betwixt the two seas which wash our shores. He was rarely spoken of as Senator James or even as Mr. James. He was known and talked about as "Ollie" James all over the land. Frequently people left off the James and discoursed about and quoted "Ollie." The name "Ollie" seems to have differentiated him from all his fellows. On account of his vast bulk he was known by sight to everybody in Washington. As he walked the streets of the finest Capital in the world even the urchins would say to each other, "There goes Ollie James!" or "There goes Ollie!" In a certain sense he had become a sort of national institution. House and Senate guides say that nearly all the visitors and sightseers asked to have Ollie James pointed out to them.

Being born a Kentuckian myself, and most of my mother's people having lived and being buried in his congressional district, when he came into the House I cultivated him and we became fast friends, and I greatly en-

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joyed his companionship and highly prized his friendship. His friendships were not lukewarm but intense and enduring. He was simple as a child and he remained to the end a big-hearted boy, although a great Representative and a great Senator.

I am inclined to believe that his unusual stature and physical massiveness were valuable assets in his political career.

He was a strong debater and participated in many hot verbal contests in both branches of Congress. He was neither timid nor half-hearted. There was no trouble to discover on which side he was on. He was either wholly for a proposition or wholly against. He was an enthusiast as to both men and things. He was exceedingly in love with the noblest of quadrupeds and "the sport of kings." He knew the running record of every horse in America worthy of mention. If he had been rich, he would undoubtedly have owned the finest string of horses in Kentucky, which is saying a great deal, as Kentucky is the home of the running horse, and has been always. Next to a splendid man or a beautiful woman Kentuckians love a fine horse most of all animated nature. In love and affection for a horse Kentuckians rival the Bedouins of the desert. That love and affection for the horse remain with Kentuckians who expatriate themselves wherever their feet may wander or under whatever stars they pitch their tents.

I have already stated that Senator JAMES was a strong debater. He was also a most successful stump speaker, as stump speaking is still a favorite recreation in Kentucky. No State in the Union can show a longer roster of distinguished stumpers than Kentucky. Of these John C. Breckinridge, Mason Brown, Henry Clay, Cassius M. Clay, Richard H. Menifee, Thomas F. Marshall, Edward Marshall, Humphrey Marshall, John J. Crittenden, John Pope,

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Archibald Dixon, William C. P. Breckinridge, J. Proctor Knott, John Marshall Harlan, John W. Stevenson, James B. Beck, John S. Williams, Roger Hanson, Elijah Hise, Thomas L. Jones, Leslie Combs, and James A. McKenzie are among the most conspicuous.

In one field of oratory OLLIE JAMES was supreme—the national convention. There is only one noisier place on earth than a national convention—that is a boiler factory. His Brobdingnagian size and his lion's roar compelled both silence and attention. He spoke in sweeping, all-embracing sentences which aroused the convention to wildest enthusiasm, which was largely a personal tribute to the mighty Kentuckian. He enjoyed national conventions to the full and was permanent chairman of two of them—an exceptional honor and compliment to any man. It was no more than he richly deserved, for a more thoroughgoing or a more enthusiastic Democrat never lived. He made no apology for being a partisan, but above and beyond all things he was an American, and love of country was his master passion. He could see no incompatibility in both a partisan and a patriot. He was honest in both and gloried in them. Kentucky has lost a noble son; the Nation a great citizen.

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Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague [Mr. Langley], who is inevitably detained, may have unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record upon the life of Senator JAMES.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks that his colleague [Mr. Langley] be permitted to extend his remarks in the Record on the life of Senator JAMES. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, several of the friends of Senator JAMES who wish to pay tribute to his memory are unavoidably absent at this moment; therefore I ask leave that they may be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the gentleman will be granted.

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In accordance with the order heretofore entered, the Chair declares the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 a. m.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 24, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

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